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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

No. 2873

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17 November 1983

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UGANDA, KENYA, TANZANIA SEEK TO RENEW COOPERATION

Paris LE MONDE in French 14 Oct 83 p 5

[Text] Nairobi.-- Six years after the dismantling of the East African Community (EAC) in which Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania are included, they are speaking of cooperation again. "Today we understand that we are interdependent. We ourselves are also working to remove the last obstacles created by the so-called ideologies," affirmed Mr Elijah Mangwale, the new Kenya minister of foreign affairs.

Political circles in Nairobi moreover noted the particularly warm tone of the message of greetings addressed to Mr Daniel Arap Moi, president of the republic, on the occasion of his reelection as head of state, by Mr Julius Myerere, his Tanzanian counterpart, a message in which the latter declared himself ready "to explore all the possible ways to strengthen peace and harmony between the two countries."

After the fall of Marshal Idi Amin Dada in the spring of 1979, Kenya normalized its relations with Uganda. In contrast, relations with Tanzania still suffer from the breakup of the EAC. The frontier has been closed since 1977--which does not preclude smuggling--and airlines are severed between the two countries, which have still never exchanged ambassadors.

But the succession of the defunct community must be settled before envisaging a resumption of cooperation. In the aftermath of the quarrel among the three countries, the matter was entrusted to Mr Victor Umbricht, a mediator of the World Bank. The interested parties challenged his diagnosis of the distribution of debts and credits: the sum at stake is on the order of one billion dollars. The three chiefs of state, meeting in Kampala in January 1981, then turned over to an "authority" the task of studying the delicate question of the assets. At the time of the dissolution of the community Kenya had appropriated, a little by the force of circumstances because of its geographic position and its economic weight, the largest part of what had then been the common services of the EAC, namely the railroads, air transport, the ports, the posts and telecommunications. It must therefore compensate its two partners, particularly Uganda. The problem is that it does not have the financial means. So in order not to block indefinitely the settlement of this business and in order to accelerate the getting under way of the regional cooperation

which the economic situation demands, the authorities in Kampala could, it seems, be satisfied with a statement of principle by the Nairobi officials recognizing the debt to them.

Mr Nyerere let it be understood in New York that a compromise among the three countries could be signed in December or early next year at the latest. In this respect some mention the possibility of an eventual meeting of the chiefs of state of Uganda, Tanzania, and Kenya at Arusha, the Tanzania, headquarters of the defunct community, to ratify this agreement. In any case no one has the ambition to lay the foundations of another community. Each country seems to have drawn its lessons from the previous experiment, which failed after 10 years due to conflict of interests and ideological divergences.

Hostile to the idea of creating common services, Mr Nyerere simply mentioned the necessity of improving trade among neighbors. "Cooperation should not be sought through supranational institutions which provoke endless political debates and feed an invading bureaucracy," said the STANDARD, the Nairobi daily. Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania want simply to try to live side by side intelligently.

6108

CSO: 3419/100



ETHIOPIAN ENVOY TO TALKS WARNS OF ACP STATES' DISCONTENT

Paris REVOLUTION in Frency 30 Sep-6 Oct 83 p 22

[Interview with Ghebray Berhane, Ambassador from Ethiopia, by Dominique Vidal: "Europe Should Not Count on Our Weariness"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] A few days after the opening of negotiations for working out the third Lome agreement, the countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific [ACP] are showing great bitterness, if we can believe their interventions in the West Berlin assembly. What are the reasons for this?

[Ghebray Berhane] In fact, a deeper and deeper disappointment has progressively taken the place of the enthusiasm which had marked the beginnings of Lome. This disappointment in fact concerns all aspects of relations between the ACP and the European Community, but I would like to emphasize the most glaring examples.

The first is the request made seven years ago by the ACP to buy agricultural products from the EEC...

[Question] ...surplus [agricultural products]?

[Ghebray Berhane] Let us say available, and those at reasonable prices. The EEC has never agreed to this request, and it has never given a serious justification for its refusal. They have talked to us about respect for the GATT rules: a year ago now, the United States took away an important European market under conditions identical to those that we were asking for. Now, on the European side, they bring up other reasons: Africans would run the risk, they tell us, of getting used to another type of food. This is forgetting that the products asked for by the ACP are those to which their populations are accustomed.

Second example: Stabex. This mechanism, you know, aims to compensate for loss of export income which affects the ACP when raw material prices go down. But Stabex does not cover certain products, including products vital to one or another of our countries. And especially, after facing the collapse of the market for several years, the glaring inadequacy of the means placed at Stabex's disposal have prevented it from playing its role fully.

One must understand our point of view: the ACP thinks that the real solution to the problem is not Stabex, but the fixing of an equitable price for raw materials which Europe buys from us. We have always asked that the EEC sign agreements with us product by product, such as exists with sugar, for which, by the way, Europe does not keep its commitments. But Europeans turn a deaf ear. When all is said and done, Stabex is just an incitement for the ACP to produce and furnish the EEC with what it needs. And it no longer works.

[Question] Does the question of inadequacy of means in fact concern all instruments of aid to development?

[Ghebray Berhane] Absolutely. Neither the budget, nor food aid, nor the European Development Fund (FED) has at its disposal the necessary minimum. Now, to whom, in fact, do the FED amounts come back, for example? To Europe! The ACP uses them almost exclusively to buy goods and services from EEC countries. The ACP certainly gets some mileage out of it, with the projects that these purchases make possible: roads, dams, training centers, etc. But the money also makes the European economy turn.

More generally, however, the ACP does not accept being relegated the role of supplier of raw materials and purchasers of finished products. This is why we pose the question of trade forcefully: Europe should really open itself to our manufactured products. This is not the case. This sword of Damocles which hangs over us is absolutely contrary to the beautiful expression of "legal partner" by which we are categorized.

[Question] The EEC's Council of Ministers has just announced a 27 percent decrease in funds earmarked for development in its 1984 budget. What if this decline is confirmed and is extended to the FED, to Stabex?

[Ghebray Berhane] That would be unthinkable, for that would bring an unprecedented blow to the ACP's ability to buy from Europe what Europe needs to sell to them. And I stress that, for the ACP, Lome is not the only solution....

[Question] However, in a context in which the United States and its followers completely block the North-South dialogue, Lome is a unique arrangement. This could push the EEC to present its positions as take it or leave it, by counting on the obligation in which the ACP would find itself to accept those positions, with no alternative.

[Ghebray Berhane] It would be a serious mistake for the Europeans to count on the ACP's weariness. Frustration among us has been accumulating to the point where any reaction is possible. No responsible European leader can forget that the take-off of the ACP has an influence on the outcome of the crisis in your countries.

Of course, we care about cooperation with the EEC. Lome has many advantages, in spite of its drawbacks and its price freezes. But do you know what European aid represents, when all means are added up? Four dollars per year and per inhabitant of the 63 ACP countries! Other partners exist: the United States, the socialist countries. That means that a serious conflict with the ACP would constitute a major risk for the EEC. As far as I am concerned, Europe must give itself the means for the political and strategic ambitions that she affirms in her cooperation with the ACP.



PRESENT, FUTURE TRADE RELATIONS WITH CUBA DISCUSSED

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 7 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] Talks between the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba in the field of foreign trade, which have been taking place in Luanda, since Monday, ended early last night with the signing of a memorandum of negotiations that analyzes the development of trade relations between both countries in recent years and future prospects.

The above-mentioned document was signed by Angolan Foreign Trade Minister Ismael Martins and Cuban Foreign Trade Minister Ricardo Cabrisas Ruiz.

The memorandum signed by these two government officials as a matter of fact points out that the balance of products in trade between both countries is in favor of Cuba, especially in the case of sugar, of which the People's Republic of Angola imports between 40 and 50 tons per year from Cuba.

On the other hand, looking at future prospects, the document stresses a broader range of products to be sold by both parties. In this context, Angola will export to Cuba liquid gas, fish meal, sisal, and wood lubricants. Angola in turn will import sugar, tuna, alcoholic beverages, and other products.

At the end of the ceremony, the Angola trade minister took the floor and said that the signing of this memorandum "symbolizes the great friendship and brotherhood that link our two peoples and that have been expressed on various fronts."

"Our peoples are brothers by virtue of the blood spilled on the battlefields in defense of the Angolan revolution" from the imperialist yoke, the Angolan government official added later on. Concerning particularly cooperation between our two countries, Ismael Martins on that occasion recalled that it was at the dawn of our independence that Cuban technicians began to work together with the Angolans, passing their experience on to them, always aiming at the organization and strengthening of the Angolan foreign trade sector.

In conclusion, Ismael Martins paid tribute to the progressive development of trade between both countries for their mutual benefit.

In his reply to his counterpart, Ricardo Cabrisa Ruiz stressed the great trade potential of Angola which represents a secure market. The Cuban minister proved to be interested in stepping up cooperation in the economic and commercial sectors of both countries, thus continuing already existing relations with greater effectiveness; on that occasion, Reicardo Ruiz assured his counterpart that the Republic of Cuba will give its full support and collaboration to the Angolan side in the sense of stepping up trade between both countries.

5058

CSO: 3442/19

## CABINDA ENERGY OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON CAPACITY

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 14 Oct 83 p 3

[Text] Henrique da Cunha, provincial delegate of the Ministry of Energy, stressed the need on Wednesday to install a supplemental power line in the future between Malongo and the city of Cabinda, to be used whenever power is interrupted on the existing line.

In an exclusive interview with the Angolan news agency ANGOP, the energy official emphasized that a second line, which would cost more than 17 million kwanzas, is needed to avoid the constant power outages that have occurred throughout the city, particularly in the factories, when the only existing power line breaks down.

The idea of installing another line has already been mentioned, but for purely financial reasons it will have to wait, since priority must be given to more immediate needs, namely expansion of the high tension network to supply the more remote zones in the province.

Current projects of the Energy Ministry delegation include installing 30-kilowatt power lines between Cabinda / Yahi / Yema and Cabinda/Subantando/Zenze/Lucula. Da Cunha noted that the last line will be about 100 kilometers long, explaining that the line in the first zone will supply the villages of Povo Grande, Santa Catarina, Fortaleza, Nto, Yema, Chipita, Chinguanga and Mbunzi, which take in about 3,000 inhabitants.

The cost of the project is estimated at 37.1 million kwanzas, da Cunha said, adding that within the framework of efforts to provide sufficient power to all areas of the city, a project has been approved to install transformer stations with a capacity to effectively supply five of the districts of the city of Cabinda. Installation should be completed by the third quarter of 1984.

## Gas Turnine

Regarding the May Day district, the delegate reported that work has already begun on the transformer station, which should be in operation by this December. These stations are needed because the existing ones are overworked, he added.

Among the activities planned for the sector in 1983, he noted the remodeling and expansion of the distribution system and the overhaul of the three generator groups; 60 million kwanzas will be spent on this work.

The official said the first activity will be carried out with the assistance of the Cabinda Gulf Oil Company, pending the arrival of three American technicians to set up the system. The overhaul of the generators will be effected by English technicians, who should be arriving soon in Cabinda.

Asked about the functioning of the gas turbine, da Cunha said it was going well and was currently undergoing revisions, suggesting that arrangements are being made to bring in foreign technicians for maintenance.

The 15-megawatt turbine, which uses 3,000 liters of gasoil per hour or 493,478 cubic meters of gas per day, has sufficient capacity to supply the entire province, but it is currently impossible to install power lines in all areas of the region because of the high cost, he said, so this project must be put off until later.

"The energy sector, which employs 98 workers in Cabinda, is experiencing enormous difficulty, primarily with the shortage of skilled technicians to work on high tension cables, the lack of trucks, of rural transformers and of other necessary equipment," da Cunha lamented, concluding that "we are over 10 million kwanzas in debt and our debtors do not want to pay us."

6362

CSO: 3442/26

ANGOLA

**FRENCH OFFICIAL ON PROMOTION OF PETROLEUM TECHNOLOGY IN COUNTRY**

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 13 Oct 83 p 9

[Text of interview with Michel Vergnaud, commercial counselor of the French Embassy in Angola, by Telmo Augusto, in Luanda, date not specified]

[Text] From 17 to 19 October, Luanda will be the setting for the French Petroleum and Gas Technology Days, an initiative organized by the French Committee for Economic Activities Abroad, the CEP (Petroleum Enterprise Group, an intersyndical organization which includes all the companies in the oil sector), and by the Commercial Service of the French Embassy in the RPA [People's Republic of Angola]. The event has the full support of Angola, specifically of the Petroleum Ministry and SONANGOL [National Angolan Fuel Company].

In addition to everything that was said about this event when it was announced on 1 October, we feel it is appropriate to mention some further aspects and information regarding the initiative, which we obtained in an interview with Micehl Vergnaud, commercial counselor of the French Embassy in our country.

[Question] Since the French Petroleum and Gas Technology Days are the first official demonstration of an economic nature by France in our country (Angola), aimed at the promotion and development of relations in the petroleum industry sector, would you please give us a general idea of the reasons that prompted the organization of this event?

[Answer] Why Petroleum and Gas Technology Days? As is known, in recent years Angola has become one of the major oil producing countries in sub-Saharan Africa and one with the richest potential on the coast of the Gulf of Guinea.

The principal problem is that the exploration and production of this wealth requires highly sophisticated technology which, as a very young country, Angola cannot yet master completely.

Although France does not have much wealth in oil, it has become one of the world leaders in the petroleum industry. The very particular attention which the French firms devote to research has enabled the constant development of new techniques.

French technology is already known in Angola, thanks to the effective presence, in chronological order, of TOTAL and Elf Aquitaine, our two major petroleum



companies. However, at this time when Angola is undertaking a new phase of production from numerous recent discoveries, we felt it was necessary to give the Angolan technicians a better idea of the state of development of the French technology, not only in the field of petroleum but of gas, which Angola appears to have in abundance and has barely begun to exploit.

Therefore, it was decided by common agreement to organize these French Petroleum and Gas Technology Days on 17, 18 and 19 October in Luanda.

#### **Commercial Aspect of Technology Transfer Days**

[Question] In addition to the goal of disseminating the French petroleum technology, the days naturally have commercial objectives. How do the French businessmen view the prospects for placing their equipment in Angola?

[Answer] The techniques developed by the French companies are not simply projects to lie forgotten in desk drawers. They are for immediate application, using well chosen equipment which Angola needs to exploit its oil wealth to the fullest.

One of the objectives of the French companies which are taking part in the Technology Days is that of better informing the Angolan officials who will have to choose the future equipment and the engineers and technicians who will eventually be using it. I must note that most of these firms are already in Angola, so it is not simply a matter of prospecting for clients, but rather of intensifying existing good relations.

To answer your second question, I can say that the trade relations are very positive.

[Question] The transfer of technology is of great concern to underdeveloped countries in their relations with industrialized countries, since it is not a matter of simply purchasing equipment. Above all, it is necessary to know how to work with it, both at the level of operations and of technical assistance.

How much do the French businessmen take this concern into account, and will it be reflected in the Technology Days?

[Answer] I am very glad you asked this question because I was about to bring up precisely this point at the end of my last answer.

The goal of the French companies is not simply to sell equipment. Delivery of the material must be combined with technical assistance and, above all, with training.

You use the expression "transfer of technology." This is very much in fashion. It is important to analyze which it might include.

The transfer of technology could mean the pure and simple application of a very specific technique by the receiving country, such as the purchase of a manufacturing license or process. This is relatively rare and I think the young Angolan industry is not ready for this type of transfer. The transfer of technology generally takes another much more effective form.

This is shared on-site activity by the companies which develop the projects, by engineers, technicians and even simple Angolan workers.

Our two great French petroleum companies, Elf and TOTAL, have practiced this type of transfer since their arrival in Angola: the formation of mixed teams at



all levels in the association and scholarship grants for trainees at the companies' headquarters and at the French Petroleum Institute.

To give an example, Elf recently began an 18-month training course for technicians at Soyo.

I can also mention the activities of petroleum-related companies already established in Angola, such as UIE and CECA.

I am convinced that this system of individuals working side by side over a period of years is the realistic way to transfer technology.

Turning specifically to the Technology Days, the fact that the conferees coming from France will be high-level technicians and that the Angolan participants will have been chosen from among the skilled engineers and technicians gives an idea of this technical cooperation, since I hope the conferences will permit a fruitful dialogue among the specialists.

#### Large Scale Project in Progress

[Question] We would like to take this opportunity to ask about the major French investments and projects in Angola's oil sector. How does France see the future of this type of cooperation?

[Answer] The question is relevant.

As you know, the two major French oil companies are here in Angola. In chronological order, they are CFP TOTAL and Elf Aquitaine.

The petroleum groups associated with them have invested considerable sums in prospecting operations; I could mention Elf's operations (in Offshore blocks 3 and 10) at a cost of \$200 million.

TOTAL is investing \$100 million (in Offshore blocks 6 and 20), so the two companies are spending a total of \$300 million.

In this regard, I would like to note that the French financing authorities have always reacted favorably to requests for loan guarantees for these operations.

Regarding the future, I can note that the Elf and TOTAL development projects, within the framework of the fruitful dialogue which they maintain with the National Petroleum Association and the Petroleum Ministry, should lead to investments of several hundred million dollars.

In the petroleum-related sector, the most advanced project (it should soon be submitted for consideration by the Council of Ministers) is the creation of PETROMAR, a joint association of Bouygues Offshore, Spie Capag and SONANGOL. The project calls for the establishment of an installation in Ambriz for construction of offshore oil platforms. It will also provide technical assistance to companies for the installation of the platforms and will manufacture and install sealines and pipelines.

The investment is estimated at about \$18 million.

The project naturally does not ignore the professional training of Angolan personnel at all levels (1.5 percent of earnings will be spent on this training).

Another 0.5 percent of the earnings will be reserved for economic and cultural development and sanitation in the Ambriz region. The installation will have a considerable effects in the most diverse areas, such as automobile maintenance and repair, surfacing and painting, electricity, water treatment, local transportation, agriculture, fishing, construction, local trade and services.

This is certainly the best example of what French-Angolan cooperation can and should be in the petroleum sector.

All the activities we have just mentioned are the first step in this cooperation, which should be extended from the petroleum sector to other sectors of activity. As it becomes more general, it will symbolize the strengthening of the bonds of friendship that already unite Angola and France.

6362

CSO: 3442/26

**REPORT ON DEMBOS III STATE COFFEE ENTERPRISE PRODUCTION**

Laanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 12 Oct 83 p 3

[Text] According to a report released yesterday, the Dembos III State Coffee Enterprise exceeded its production plans in the last harvest, producing about 250,000 kilograms of commercial coffee.

The production commitment, established at 1.18 million kilograms of cherry coffee in the 1982/1983 Technical-Economic Plan, was increased to 1,526,040 kilograms, which is indicative of the interest and dedication of the company workers, whose activity during the last crop season included expanding the area under cultivation.

As is known, coffee is one of the products of major importance for the nation's economy, representing a source of foreign exchange from its exportation. Surpassing the production estimates for the last growing season, the Dembos III State Coffee Enterprise is an outstanding company, deserving of major support in the future so it may obtain the resources it now lacks.

In fact, some practical needs, which were overcome solely by the dedication of the labor force and the management cadres, came close to jeopardizing the fulfillment of the goals in the last harvest.

In the accounting report released yesterday, the insufficient supply of food-stuffs for the rural workers, the severe shortage of transportation to carry out production tasks and to deliver the coffee, among other factors, were felt during the harvest. The coffee enterprise has only three Mercedes trucks, considered inadequate for the numerous activities, and the shortage of such essential products as soap, salt, fish and clothing was strongly felt, threatening the workers' productive participation in the harvest tasks.

**Expanded Acreage**

Created in January 1981, the Dembos III State Coffee Enterprise initially had only 400 hectares available to it for cultivation. During 1982, new parcels of land were recovered to expand future production, and the enterprise currently has about 2,686 hectares under cultivation, although the coffee plants in the recently reactivated parcels are still somewhat weakened from the long period of neglect, which means that only in the coming seasons can they be expected to be more productive.

The success of the last harvest, reflected in the expansion of the initial production plan, was possible solely because of the enlistment of all the non-agricultural personnel in farm tasks for 2 days a week.

Based on this system of organizing resources, it was possible for the company to make up for the manpower shortage in this particularly important harvest phase.

### Most Outstanding Company in Coffee Sector

With this significant increase in production in the 1982/1983 agricultural year, a result of the effort, dedication and organization of its entire labor force and administrative staff, the Dembos III State Coffee Enterprise was selected by the UNTA (National Union of Angolan Workers), through its National Department of Socialist Emulation, to receive the title of Vanguard Enterprise among all its counterparts in the coffee sector. It is noted that, since its creation in 1981, this enterprise has been progressively increasing its annual production rate, which was about 654,882 kgs of cherry coffee in 1981, followed by 832,766 kgs in 1982 and, finally, 1,526,040 kgs in the most recent harvest.

The report concludes: "For the Dembos III State Coffee Enterprise, it is not enough to rest content with these rates, since it still has not achieved maximum production, considering the coffee area under its control. Hence we will continue our efforts to achieve even better results."

### Accounting Meeting

A meeting is scheduled for 13 and 14 October to present the accounting of the 1983 coffee harvest and also the marketing account for this product of transcendental importance to the nation's economy.

According to a note to the press from the Agriculture Ministry, the meeting should be attended by the directors of the producing companies, the director of CAFANGOL [expansion unknown] and the president of the coffee workers union.

### Tables: Monthly Production Statistics (in kilograms) , Dembos III

| Production Unit          | May      | June     | July      | August    |
|--------------------------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| No 1: "Balanguinga"      | 24,863   | 158,262  | 330,363   | 160,444   |
| No 2: "Montes Herminios" | 4,872    | 55,470   | 151,254   | 96,144    |
| No 3: "Lindo Vale"       | 2,098    | 33,163.5 | 97,271.5  | 25,684    |
| No 4: "Mondego"          | 10,705.5 | 74,648.5 | 184,241.5 | 116,555.5 |
| Total                    | 42,538.5 | 321,544  | 763,130   | 396,827.5 |

Grand Total: 1,526,040

6362

CSO: 3442/26

**NAMIBE APPOINTMENTS, MILITARY REGIONAL COUNCIL MEETING**

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 6 Oct 83 p 2

**[Excerpts] New Government Members Appointed**

A dispatch from Namibe Provincial Commissioner Lt Col Rafael Sapilinha (Sambalanga) appointed new members to the provincial government.

Ramos Casseculo was appointed to the position of municipal commissioner of Kamucuio while Manuel Liunda, who is currently municipal commissioner of Namibe, was reassigned to the position of provincial director of community services.

In the meantime, Jose Gabriel Alberto was assigned to the position of municipal commissioner of Namibe; in the beginning he had combined this job with the position of coordinator of the party's municipal committee in Namibe.

**Regional Military Councils**

During a meeting on Tuesday, the members of the provincial government were familiarized with the standards governing the recently created Regional Military Councils.

The meeting was directed by Namibe Provincial Commissioner and member Military Regional Council, 5th Region, Lt Col Rafael Sapilinha (Sambalanga) who on the occasion presented important remarks dealing with that body.

The provincial commissioner of Namibe once again condemned the armed actions and banditry of which this province has recently been a victim on the part of commandos of racist troops from South Africa in collusion with mercenaries of various origins as well as Angolan puppets in the pay of international imperialism.

The defense of the threatened fatherland, said Lt Col Rafael Sapilinha (Sambalanga), must be a constant concern of all Angolans because it is necessary to preserve the independence, dignity, and sovereignty that was so hard-won through two long national liberation wars.

The document governing the CMR [Regional Military Councils], the law creating the military tribunals and [governing] relations between the CMR and the provincial party commissions were read during the meeting, along with other documents of vital importance to that body's operation.



## BRIEFS

**SPANISH CREDIT**--The Spanish government has granted Angola a line of credit worth about \$100 million, it was learned yesterday in Madrid from ANOP (Portuguese News Agency). The credit, requested by Angola last March, during the visit to Spain by Angolan Foreign Trade Minister Ismael Martins, will be used for the purchase of food products and capital goods as well as to support Spanish enterprises in their cooperation in Angola, mainly in the fishing industry sector. The same source pointed out that the credit had already been authorized by the Foreign Bank of Spain. Its implementation will, within the next several days, be the subject of negotiations in Madrid between representatives of both countries. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 27 Sep 83 p 1] 5058

**ENCODIPA SITUATION--CABINDA**--In spite of the lack of transportation equipment, which as a matter of fact was the main problem for the proper operation of ENCODIPA [National Company for Marketing and Distribution of Agricultural Products], in the township of Belize, this enterprise purchased 65,961 kilograms of miscellaneous products from individual peasants during the first quarter of 1983, it was learned at ANGOP [Angolan Press Agency] from city manager Lourenco Casimiro. The products purchased include especially coffee, bananas, cassava, potatoes, manioc paste, and peanuts worth 1,802,770 kwanzas. In that township, the enterprise currently has only 66 workers distributed over eight stores in the three commercial zones in the township of Belize, he added. Lourenco once again deplored the lack of transportation equipment suitable for the shipment of the products grown by the peasants--a fact which has caused a rise in the rate of spending on freight costs by ENCODIPA. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 7 Oct 83 p 3] 5058

**ROBERTO DE ALMEIDA IN MOSCOW**--Comrade Roberto de Almeida, alternate member, Political Bureau, and secretary of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Labor Party for the ideological sphere, on Monday met in Moscow with Boris Ponomarev, alternate member, Political Bureau, and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU. According to a report released in Moscow on the meeting, the Soviet Union at that time restated its solidarity with the Angolan people which is struggling against the aggression of racist South Africa, supported by the imperialist forces, especially the United States. The report stressed the fact that relations between the CPSU and the MPLA-Labor Party were also analyzed during the meeting; these relations are developing successfully, the text released in the Soviet capital added. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 5 Oct 83 p 1] 5058



CUBAN PC MESSAGE TO MPLA--The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba sent a message to the Central Committee of the MPLA-Labor Party on the occasion of the 4th anniversary of the death of the Lamented Comrade President Agostinho Neto. The message recalls with great sorrow the passing of the beloved President Neto, expressing its solidarity to the MPLA-Labor Party and to the Angolan people. The missive stresses the example of the revolutionary struggle linked to the Angolan people and the other African peoples by Comrade President Agostinho Neto which remains strong in the face of constant attacks by the racist regime of South Africa and its imperialist allies. Further on, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba reiterates the determination of the Angolan people to remain firm in this same trench against imperialism and its policemen, until final victory. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 30 Sep 83 p 1] 5058

TRADE WITH BRAZIL.--Angola will very shortly be able to increase its purchases from the Brazilian State of Rio de Janeiro, mainly fabrics, food products as well as machine-building and machine industry products. This matter was recently the subject of discussion between Angolan Planning Minister Lopo de Nascimento and Angolan Foreign Trade Minister Ismael Martins, on the one hand, and the President of the Development Bank of the State of Rio de Janeiro. Rafael Peres Borges, who visited Angola in his capacity of special envoy of the Governor of the State of Rio Leonel Brizola, told ANGOP [Angolan Press Agency] that there is considerable interest in increasing Brazilian trade with Angola, mainly for the benefit of enterprises in Rio de Janeiro. Although nothing was hinted as to the specific results of his mission, he did note that the State of Rio is trying "to institute increased trade with enterprises in Rio de Janeiro, where the State Development Bank can help those enterprises in providing better sales terms for the Angolan government." Rafael Borges said that he does not believe that the attempt, advocated by some Brazilian circles, to bring about a change in relations with Angola and Mozambique, will be successful, in view of the position of those states with relation to South Africa, a country whose capital has been rather [words missing in original] penetrating [words missing in original] [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 27 Sep 83 p 2] 5058

YUGOSLAVIA DONATES MEDICINE --About a ton of medications was offered to the People's Republic of Angola by the Government of the Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia. The shipment of medicines, which includes plasma and medical dressings, was handed over to Health Minister Ferreira Neto by the ambassador of Yugoslavia in Angola, Dimitrije Babic. A source in the Ministry of Health indicated to ANGOP [Angolan Press Agency] that this is the first lot in a large volume of medical aid which Yugoslavia is giving Angola as part of the bonds of friendship and solidarity between both countries. The Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia always responded to appeals from the RPA [People's Republic of Angola] in terms of the need for aid in view of the difficult times it is going through, particularly in connection with the acts of aggression by South Africans and Angola puppet gangs, trained and armed by Pretoria. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 6 Oct 83 p 2] 5058

GDR MINES, GEOLOGY VISIT--Fritz Teller, GDR vice minister of geology and mining, arrived yesterday in Luanda, leading a delegation which will take part in the proceedings of the sixth session of the Angolan-GDR joint commission's sub-committee for industry, geology and mining. The GDR leader was welcomed at the 4 February Airport by Minister of Industry Bento Ribeiro and the GDR ambassador to Angola [RPA]. On that occasion, Teller said he was very happy to be in the RPA and to contribute to positive cooperation between the two countries. The GDR delegation includes the directors of the Ministry of Geology, the Ministry for Construction of Machine Tools and Processing Machinery, the Ministry for Construction of Heavy Machinery and the export sector for cement industry equipment. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 13 Oct 83 p 2] 6362

CSO: 3442/26

## JUDICIAL COMMISSION OPENS BUSINESS

Nairobi THE WEEKLY REVIEW in English 28 Oct 83 pp 3-6

[Text]

**DURING** the past few weeks there have been strong rumours in Nairobi that the judicial commission appointed by President Daniel arap Moi to look into allegations against the former minister for constitutional affairs, Mr. Charles Njonjo, would be scrapped and Njonjo rehabilitated in the near future. A related rumour had it that after Njonjo had been restored to the membership of the ruling party, Kanu, from which he was suspended in July, the new MP for Kikuyu, Mr. Peter Kinyanjui, would resign his seat and Njonjo would be re-elected to parliament through a by-election. The rumour was probably started by pro-Njonjo people in high places anxious to discourage would-be witnesses from volunteering any information they may have to the commission of inquiry. It could also be part of the political game which continues to be played months after the fall from power of the former minister. Whatever its origin, the rumour was fuelled by the fact that the public has heard little about the work of the commission. After being in the limelight for weeks, the commission, chaired by appeals court Justice C.H.E. Miller, was swept aside by the attention which the recent general election and subsequent government appointments received, and was to a great extent almost forgotten by the average Kenyan.

Last week, the president moved to change all that and to kill the rumour about early rehabilitation of Njonjo. In a *Kenya Gazette* announcement, the president directed that the commission will formally open business this week (on Friday, October 28) and that Njonjo would be served with the terms of

reference and asked to prepare to appear before the commission to refute any allegations against him. The commission was expected formally to open its proceedings at the Old Parliament Building this Friday and then adjourn till late November, reportedly to avoid an overlap of its work with the visit to Kenya in mid-November of the English queen. It would appear that both the Kenya and the British governments are anxious to make the queen's visit as successful as possible; proceedings of the commission would obviously mean less publicity for the queen's visit if both were to take place simultaneously.

When he appointed the judicial commission of inquiry, President Moi said that the purpose of the commission was to inquire into the "serious irregularities" attributed to Njonjo "in our parliament and also at various public meetings". The terms of reference of the commission, which were made known last week for the first time, appear to embrace the whole gamut of allegations made against Njonjo in June and July of this year.

There is first the citation which asks the commission to inquire into allegations that Njonjo conducted himself in a manner prejudicial to the security of the state, the position and image of the president and government of Kenya. Then come the specific matters. The commission is asked to inquire into allegations that Njonjo was a party to a conspiracy or conspiracies to overthrow the Moi government in August last year "or concealment of such conspiracy or conspiracies". The interesting aspect of this particular term of reference is that it does not confine

itself to the August 1, 1982, abortive coup, which clearly suggests that the investigators are working on the possibility that there may have been more than one coup plot, a claim which was in fact made by at least one of the accused in the court martial proceedings which took place late last year and early this year as a result of the abortive August 1 coup. During one of the court martial hearings one of the witnesses, who was later to be sentenced to death, claimed that certain ministers had been plotting against the Moi government and gave the impression that the August 1 coup attempt was a pre-emptive move to forestall the success of the other coup plot. Certain ministers were in fact named in one of the statements made by one of the August 1 coup plotters, but their names were not allowed to be read out in court. Presumably the commission of inquiry has access to the court records; and the term of reference spelling out the possibility of more than one conspiracy to overthrow the government last year may have been drafted with such information in mind. Actually, other parties besides ministers were named as having been involved in a plot to overthrow the Moi government, the most prominent person so named being the former vice-president, Mr. Oginga Odinga, who was recently released from house arrest imposed on him soon after the abortive coup. It is, however, Njonjo who is the object of investigations, and it is upon him that the public's attention is now rivetted.

Probably as serious as the allegations of involvement in the "conspiracy or conspiracies" to overthrow the Moi government last year, is the allegation that Njonjo was party to the "allegedly unlawful activities of Mr. Andrew Mungai Muthemba". Muthemba stood trial but was acquitted on a treason charge (or conspiring to kill the president and overthrow the Kenya government) in 1981. The judge who acquitted him is the current chief justice, Mr. R. Simpson. During the preliminary inquiry, heard before the chief magistrate, Mr. Fidalhussein Abdullah, the prosecution had introduced a statement by Muthemba in which he claimed that Njonjo was his cousin and that he had kept Njonjo constantly informed of his attempts to procure arms from the armed forces with the express purpose of proving that security in the armed forces was very

lax. Njonjo had asked to appear before the chief magistrate and in his statement the former minister had denied that he was a cousin of Muthemba's or that Muthemba had reported anything to him about his self-appointed mission to test the security arrangements within the armed forces. At least one of those denials raised eyebrows. The former minister for agriculture, Dr. Munyua Waiyaki, charged at a public meeting in June this year that Njonjo had by making the denial disowned his own kith and kin. Similar charges were made by other politicians at the time. If, indeed, Muthemba is a cousin of Njonjo's, then Njonjo lied in court. If he lied on that particular point, then there is little reason to believe that he told the truth when he said Muthemba had not kept him informed about his mission. If that is so, then Simpson's remark that the police investigations (particularly the special branch's role in those investigations) were aimed at spoiling Njonjo's "well-earned" reputation, as Simpson said in his judgement in the Muthemba trial, would with hindsight look extremely odd. If fact, the commission's decision to revive the whole Muthemba affair appears to the layman to give credence to the view, expressed by some members of the last parliament, that there was more to the Muthemba affair than met the eye. The very phrasing of the term of reference and specific reference to Muthemba's alleged "unlawful" activities seems to support this view. Muthemba was, of course, acquitted in a court of law and nothing the commission does or finds can change that fact. He cannot be tried again on the same charge. Acquittal, however, simply means that the prosecution was not able to provide sufficient evidence to convict Muthemba on the specific charge for which he was arraigned before that particular court. More evidence could have made a difference.

The commission of inquiry is also supposed to look into allegations that Njonjo was party to the convening of the Presbyterian Church of East African prayer meeting which took place at Rungiri on June 12 "and its conversion into an irregular political gathering". During the prayer meeting, which Njonjo attended, speeches were made by both clergy and laymen which to many observers amounted to a political endorsement of Njonjo, over whose head of cloud of suspicion had



already settled following charges by President Moi the previous month that there was someone in Kenya being groomed by foreign powers to take over the presidency unconstitutionally. When the matter came up for discussion in parliament, several MPs took exception to remarks by one of the speakers at the prayer meeting, Mr. Samuel Githegi, who in parables spoke of "a limping sheep" which could not lead other sheep to green pastures. Many MPs interpreted the remarks to be a reference to the president, though both Githegi and Njonjo denied any such reference. Njonjo told MPs that he did not himself understand many of the Kikuyu idioms and parables used in the prayer meeting and that he was not party to the convening of the meeting which he said had been arranged several months earlier during his absence from the country. He was later to tell the press that Githegi had had Njonjo in mind as the limping sheep. As a number of MPs in June pointed out, and Njonjo seemed to agree at the time, the prayer meeting had in fact been turned into a political gathering. PCEA leaders later condemned the local clergy for allowing this to happen. The main question a number of MPs wanted answered was why Njonjo, then a senior minister of the government, had not done anything to stop the political speeches which were being uttered in his presence at a church meeting.

The fourth and fifth terms of reference for the commission of inquiry deal with foreign affairs. The commission is asked to look into allegations that Njonjo acted against Kenya's national interest and policy of maintaining good neighbourliness and of opposing the inhuman regime of South Africa, and allegations that Njonjo was party to a conspiracy to overthrow the government of the Seychelles in November, 1981. Throughout the heated debate in parliament in July which led to Njonjo's suspension as minister for constitutional affairs and subsequent resignation from parliament, the general thrust of accusations was that Njonjo had close links with South Africa. Mr. Martin Shikuku, MP for Butere and now assistant minister in the office of the president, tabled documents which alleged that Njonjo owned a steel works in South Africa. That particular allegation was supported by Mr. Paul Ngei, now

minister for lands, settlement and physical planning, though the following week the allegation was shot down by a South African newspaper which claimed that the document Shikuku had tabled in parliament had in fact been a clipping from a satirical and fictitious article which had appeared in the defunct magazine *To The Point* which used to be financed by the South African secret service. Shikuku had, however, told parliament during the debate in July that he had submitted before parliament only a portion of the documentary evidence he had regarding his allegation that Njonjo had business interests in South Africa and that the former minister had been receiving funds from foreign sources for purposes which could not be deemed politically proper. Presumably, Shikuku has made this extra evidence available to the commission investigators. Njonjo has, of course, an image problem as far as South Africa is concerned. He is the only man as a cabinet minister in Kenya who ever publicly advocated a dialogue with South Africa. He has played host to a number of South African dignitaries, including the heart transplant surgeon, Dr. Christian Barnard. But he has done some of these things out in the open. It is not as if in July Kenyan politicians suddenly discovered that Njonjo did not quite agree with the general view that the best way of dealing with the apartheid regime in South Africa was totally to isolate it.

The allegations about Njonjo's involvement in the Seychelles invasion of November, 1981, are not new. Soon after the invasion, press reports had it that the white mercenaries who had unsuccessfully tried to invade the Seychelles had expected support from Kenya. Captured mercenaries told Seychelles authorities that part of their plan was that as soon as they successfully landed in the islands, an armed contingent would fly from Mombasa or Nairobi to secure the islands until the former President James Mancham (overthrown by current president Albert Rene in a bloodless coup in 1977) was restored to power. At least one press report at the time claimed that the contact man for the mercenaries in Kenya was Njonjo. The Kenya government denied the claim in an official statement, and later repeated the denial when parliament tried to debate the issue. The same denial was

given to a commission of inquiry set up by the United Nations security council. That commission came to the conclusion that there was no evidence to link the Kenya government to the plot to overthrow the Seychelles government. But the rumours persisted and were to be part of the barrage of allegations levelled against Njonjo in June and July following the president's remarks that a Kenyan leader was being groomed by foreign powers to overthrow the president. Since Njonjo fell from grace, the Seychelles government has sent an emissary to Nairobi and issued some rather friendly statements about future relations between the two countries. It is conceivable that the Seychelles authorities may have given the Kenyan government additional information which might change the Kenya government's view about the events of November, 1981. Rene recently pardoned some of the mercenaries who had been captured and tried. (Some were sentenced to death.) It is quite likely that in exchange for their freedom, the captured mercenaries gave more information than they had been prepared to give at the time of their trial. Rene could even have got some information from the South African authorities following the release of the mercenaries, information which may explain the Kenya government's decision to include the Seychelles affair among the terms of reference for the commission of inquiry chaired by Justice Miller.

The last batch of terms of reference deals with allegations that Njonjo misused his office as attorney-general and or minister for constitutional affairs and that he arrogated to himself the duties and powers of the president, "solicited or received or attempted to receive or offered or made or attempted to make corrupt payments, granted favours or acted to the prejudice of individuals, to seek political support, to undermine the process of democracy and to protect persons involved in illegal activities." During the July debate in the last parliament, charges that contained these allegations included one by Mr. Lawrence Sifuna (Bungoma South) that Njonjo had attempted through an emissary to bribe him into joining his "camp". Ngei made charges to the effect that Njonjo had interfered with the judiciary to the point where he had been harassing leaders

through court proceedings. Ngei further charged that Njonjo had helped a foreign magnate smuggle game trophies out of the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport and that through Njonjo's influence other illegal activities had been committed. A charge that preoccupied parliamentarians for some time was that Njonjo shielded from prosecution the former chairman of the National Bank of Kenya, Mr. Stanley Githunguri, in connection with the bank's loss of nearly shs. 300 million. As parliamentarians were debating the Githunguri affair, the chief justice was hearing *in camera* a civil case in which the National Bank had sued Continental Developers Ltd. in connection with shs. 80 million the bank was trying to recover from the company. The money had been lent to the company by the bank while Githunguri was chairman without adequate securities being formalised. Several parliamentarians were incensed that a matter of such great public interest was being heard *in camera*, and hard words were uttered against the chief justice on the grounds that this was yet another example of Njonjo's influence on the judiciary, since Githunguri was a close friend of Njonjo's. The chief justice did finally deliver his judgement in the case in an open court and defended his decision to hear the case *in camera* on the grounds that the legal representatives of both parties - the National Bank and Continental Developers - had requested a hearing *in camera*, claiming that there were matters affecting state security to be discussed.

The charge concerning Njonjo's interference with the judiciary is, of course, one that is not going to be easy to prove. The only witnesses who can give credible evidence on the matter are members of the bench, and as things stand right now it is highly unlikely that any judge or magistrate will be called to give testimony on the allegation. As it is, there is enough heat on the judiciary merely by the decision of the government to revive the Muthemba affair and the possibility of the Githunguri affair coming up in public hearings in the commission, for the chief justice himself has been involved in these matters in court proceedings.

The president has directed that the commission conduct its inquiry with "diligence and speed" and make its report without undue delay. The



commission apparently intends to do just that, though the queen's visit and the Jamhuri and Christmas holidays may come in as unavoidable interruptions. Already a lot of ground has been covered. A team of investigators working under the guidance of Mr. Lee Muthoga as chief prosecuting counsel to the commission has reportedly unearthed quite a bit of information. Indeed, whereas most commissions of inquiry start their operations with public hearings and gather vital information as they go along, this particular commission seems to have gathered quite a bit of information even before its terms of reference were drawn up. Indeed, it would seem as if the authorities drew up the terms of reference to fit the available evidence.

Njonjo is apparently taking the commission matter seriously. He has already instructed a senior lawyer in the firm of Kaplan and Stratton, Mr. W.S. Deverell to defend him. And this week, Mr. Paul Muite, a senior partner in the firm of Waruhiu and Muite, joined Deverell in the defence team. It is still not clear whether Njonjo still plans to engage the services of a QC from London and if he does it is not clear whether the government would allow a foreign lawyer to take part in the commission's proceedings. Deverell is a well-known lawyer who has in the past specialised in civil cases, though his firm has as a partner one of the country's most famous criminal lawyers, Mr. Byron Georgiadis. When contacted by the press last week, Georgiadis, however, appeared at pains to point out that he had nothing to do with the commission. Georgiadis's only connection with the commission may be in the fact that he was Muthemba's lawyer in the 1981 treason trial.

Muite was also the lawyer of the National Bank of Kenya who appeared before the chief justice in the Githunguri case and argued for a hearing *in camera* on grounds of state security. The chief magistrate later said that after hearing the submissions of both parties he had come to the conclusion that there had in

fact been no matters affecting state security which were discussed and that is why he had decided to give his judgement in the case in an open court. Muite also appeared for the Coffee Board of Kenya in a civil case in which East African Acceptances were suing the board for recovery of several millions of shillings which the board had illegally paid to Mbo-I-Kamiti Farming Company that should have instead been paid to East African Acceptances as the company's receivers. The decision to pay Mbo-I-Kamiti directly was taken by Githegi who was then chairman of the Coffee Board. It is this Githegi who talked of a "limping sheep" at the Rungiri prayer meeting. Ironically, in the East African Acceptances versus Coffee Board of Kenya case, Deverell was the lawyer for East African Acceptances. The case, which was also heard *in camera*, was won by East African Acceptances. Though huge sums of public money were at stake, the details of the case are still unavailable to the press.

Muite's decision to appear in defence of Njonjo before the commission of inquiry has proved a bit of an embarrassment to his law partners. The president only recently nominated to parliament Mrs. Rose Waruhiu, wife of Mr. George Waruhiu, one of the partners in the firm of Waruhiu and Muite. Mr. Samuel Waruhiu, the founder of the firm, is a well-known public figure with extensive connections with government institutions and projects. He is chairman of Barclays Bank of Kenya Ltd., in which the government has a substantial minority holding. He has served on numerous government committees and commissions, the most important being the commission which reviewed the government's salary structure and which bears his name on account of his having chaired it. The Waruhiu and Muite law firm handles some lucrative government accounts, including the National Bank of Kenya. In legal circles, Muite is known to be close to Njonjo. His partners may consider such closeness somewhat uncomfortable. ■

## ANONYMOUS SENDER FLOODS NEWSDESKS WITH STAMPED BALLOTS

Nairobi THE WEEKLY REVIEW in English 28 Oct 83 p 6

[Text]

A MONTH after the general election, Mathira constituency continues to be a centre of attraction. First there was the election violence in which one man died and many others were injured. Then there was the controversial oath-taking story. And now, local newspapers have been receiving through the mail, from an anonymous sender, marked and stamped ballot papers from the constituency. Last week, the *Sunday Nation* received 42 ballot papers, then 47 were sent to the *Kenya Times*, 52 to *The Standard* and 43 to *The Weekly Review*. Most of the ballot papers are marked in favour of one candidate, the eventual winner, Mr. Matu Wamae, and they all bear the official stamp of the presiding officer. The mystery sender was careful to conceal his identity; accompanying the papers was a photostat copy of a note in hardly legible handwriting, apparently written with the unaccustomed hand to avoid identification by handwriting experts. The note said that the enclosed ballot papers were proof that the election in the constituency was not fair, and that the ballot papers were some of those to be used in favour of one candidate "obviously with the knowledge and support of the administration".

The law requires that a ballot paper be officially stamped before it is given to a voter, who then marks it and places it in the ballot box. The official stamp on the mysterious Mathira ballot papers is therefore an indication that each of them was to have been purportedly stamped and given to a voter, and

therefore valid in the voting exercise. The law also requires that after the close of the poll, the presiding officer make a written statement accounting for all ballot papers issued to him and in the presence of candidates or their agents, place the remaining papers in packets and seal them.

Whoever sent the papers quite obviously has a stock of them at his disposal, a disturbing matter for the authorities. The attorney-general, Justice Mathew Muli, expressed disgust at the discovery of the papers and confirmed active investigations into the matter had begun. Wamae, for his part, has said that the papers have been sent by disgruntled elements who wanted to undermine his election victory. While the ballot papers were arriving at newsdesks, Mr. Peter Ngibuini Kuguru, a son of the former MP for the area, Mr. Davidson Kuguru, filed a petition in the High Court challenging Wamae's election. Kuguru named the returning officer, Nyeri DC Mr. Norman Njuguna, as the first respondent and Wamae as the second.

Only two weeks ago, attorney-general Muli told election officials that he was satisfied with the way the elections had been conducted since elaborate measures had been taken to ensure that the elections were fair. The truth about the Mathira papers has yet to be ascertained, but the mystery raises many questions, not only about Mathira, but about the conduct of elections in other parts of the country as well. ■

## TWO CONVICTED COUP PLOTTERS LOSE HIGH COURT APPEAL

Nairobi THE WEEKLY REVIEW in English 38 Oct 83 pp 6-7

[Text] THE third ranking official of the intended government of ex-Snr. Pte. Hezekiah Ochuka, fugitive leader of the last year's August 1 attempted coup against the Kenya government, ex-Sgt Joseph Ogidi Obuon, and one of the commanders of the take-over operations, ex-Cpl. James Odemba Otieno, have lost their appeals against death sentences in the High Court. A panel of two High Court judges, Mr. Justice Emmanuel O'Kubasu and Mr. Justice S.J. Todd, found this week that the grounds of appeal of the two ex-airmen were invalid, and the appeals court upheld death sentences imposed by courts martial last year.

In his appeal argument, defence counsel Mr. Nicholas Raballah submitted that Otieno's conviction was based on accomplice evidence and therefore must be quashed. Raballah further argued that the offence disclosed by the evidence did not merit a treason charge. Todd and O'Kubasu, however, after considering the case put forward by the military prosecution, led by Major J.C. Mbewa, found that the accused was properly charged and sentenced. According to the prosecution, Otieno took at gunpoint armoury keys from the duty officer at GADU Embakasi and later shot at armoury locks at the Eastleigh airbase, thereafter ordering airmen to take arms in furtherance of the coup attempt. Odemba also drove in an open Landrover to various parts of Nairobi on August 1 wearing the rank of captain.

Mr. George Oraro, defending Obuon, said that the court martial had erred in convicting his client of treason and that the accused should have been charged with a lesser offence, adding that the judge advocate had misadvised the military court on the appellant's case and calling for the death sentence to be quashed. The High Court, however, found no grounds for the

appeal and dismissed it. Obuon was arrested on August 1, in Nairobi city by army personnel, and badges of a senior officer were found in his trouser pockets. He was armed and being driven by a civilian to town, on his way to rescue Ochuka, whose vehicle had been disabled by loyal forces. Obuon, popularly known as 'Hilton' due to his height, was named as the man who coordinated recruitment to the coup group of servicemen at Nanyuki airbase and in other units. He had also been involved in designing an oath-taking system for the conspirators.

The appeals of other servicemen sentenced to death by courts martial last year continue to be heard. These include those of ex-Cpl. Fenwicks Odera, ex-Cpl. Mirasi Odawa, ex-Snr. Pte. Edward Adell, ex-Lt. Onyango, ex-Cpl. Oriwa Hongo, ex-Cpl. Odira Ojode, ex-Cpl. Injeni Njereman and ex-Snr. Pte. Madara Wango.

Also scheduled for hearing in the High Court is the appeal of the jailed ex-Major General Peter Mwagiru Kariuki, former commander of the disbanded Kenya Air Force, who was found guilty on two counts of failing to suppress a mutiny contrary to Section 26(A) of the Armed Forces Act and sentenced to serve four years' imprisonment on each count, sentences to run concurrently. Kariuki is represented by Nairobi lawyer Mr. Paul Muite; the appeal argues that the sentence imposed was harsh and the evidence insufficient for the conviction imposed by the court martial. The attorney-general, Justice Mathew Muli, seems to think otherwise, however, for this week Muli issued a notice saying that the state intends to apply for an increase in the four-year sentence. Muite plans to challenge that application on the grounds that the High Court does not have jurisdiction to entertain such an application. ■

## ARTICLE REPORTS ON STATUS OF WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT

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[Text] No Further Ahead

**KENYA'S** fifth parliament has only one elected woman MP, Mrs. Phoebe Asiyo of Karachuonyo constituency. The rejection at the polls of Mrs. Grace Onyango in Kisumu Town and Dr. Julia Ojiambo in Busia Central may not have been as a result of a conscious decision by the electorate to get rid of them because they were women, but it certainly reduced the power of women in Kenya's parliamentary politics. All three women elected to the last parliament were highly respected by their male colleagues. Ojiambo was an assistant minister, but all three were perhaps respected even more for having managed to win vigorous election battles against male rivals.

Asiyo can now be referred to as the most senior woman politician in the country. The other two, Mrs. Grace Ogot and Mrs. Rose Waruhiu, nominated to parliament by President Moi, although they have succeeded in other fields are unlikely to wield as much clout as Asiyo in parliamentary politics.

While women may not be doing too well in politics, they seem to be making slow but steady progress in other fields of public life. For many years, especially during the 'seventies, the role of women in Kenyan public life seemed to be confined to their activities in various women's organisations in the country. The most prominent at the time was Mrs. Jane Kiano, the chairwoman of the Maendeleo ya Wanawake organisation who, together with her colleagues, received wide publicity in the press. Internal wrangling in these organisations, however, somewhat

weakened their image effectiveness, and even though some such organisations are still going strong, the prominence of their leaders has been overshadowed by the advent of other women into parliamentary politics.

In the private sector, there is a good number of women who now hold responsible managerial positions and Kenya also has several successful business women. The civil service has some well-placed women, though they are not that many when one considers the size of the government. It is perhaps in academic fields that women have made the most progress. There are many senior women lecturers in the University of Nairobi and more and more women are enrolling for postgraduate and doctoral programmes.

Still, Kenyan women have a long way to go compared with their counterparts in developed countries who have now been integrated into most of the decision-making processes of society. For one thing, Kenyan women have not displayed the kind of passion with which women in developed countries demand equal rights. The general view among successful women in Kenya is that their male counterparts have not been enthusiastic about the idea of women attaining high positions and participating in decision making. They agree that some women are appointed to relatively high positions, but say they never rise to the very top. At the same time, some feel that there exist general absence of confidence and drive among Kenyan women, mainly because they have been discouraged by men who make them believe that confidence and drive are strictly male attributes, though there are some men who accept that a



woman can perform as well as a man.

The three women MPs concede that the odds are against women who want to succeed in public life, but are confident that women will continue to make inroads in various fields. The future success of women in Kenyan society will in part depend on how effectively they can convince those decision makers with negative attitudes that women too can really do it. ■

Mrs. Phoebe Asiyu

**FOLLOWING** the defeat of Mrs. Grace Onyango in Kisumu Town and Dr. Julia Ojiambo in Busia Central in last month's general election, Mrs. Phoebe Muga Asiyu became the sole surviving woman MP in Kenya's Parliament. After the 1974 general election, there were four elected women MPs; the number remained the same after the 1979 elections but was reduced to three after the former MP for Eldoret North, Miss Chelagat Mutai, fled into exile in Tanzania in 1981.

Asiyu has proved that she is still going strong, for while her colleagues fell to their male rivals she managed to beat off a vigorous and determined onslaught by her longtime rival and the man she ousted in 1979, Mr. David Okiki Amayo. The outcome was, however, dangerously close. Asiyu polled 12,831 votes to Amayo's 12,735, a difference of only 104 votes compared with the 1,299 margin with which she ousted him in 1979.

Born in Karachuonyo, South Nyanza district, Asiyu attended Gendia Primary School and Kamagambo Secondary School. She left Kamagambo in 1949 and in 1952 she took up her first job as a social worker with the Nairobi City Council. She worked with the council for three years during which time she took a correspondence course for her EAEC and EACE with the British Tutorial College.

It was as a social worker that Asiyu first developed an interest in people's welfare. Her work involved tracing destitute children whose parents had been detained, killed or lost in the ongoing struggle for independence, and together with fellow workers Asiyu took these children to Pumwani Maternity Home where they were housed while the social workers tried to trace the lost parents or find foster parents. She developed so much deep concern for these children that, over the

years, she ended up adopting eight of them. It was also during this time that Asiyu had her first experience of leadership, albeit in a modest way, when she was elected shop steward for the junior staff of the local government workers union. It was then that her interest in politics really started as she strived to make her fellow workers aware of their rights. In the course of her work, Asiyu says she was exposed to the plight of the local people and this aroused in her a desire to be in a better position to help improve their lot. As a result she went to the Kenya Institute of Administration where she took an in-service community development course, following which she was appointed community development officer with the ministry of social services in Ngong and Nairobi district.

During this time she felt the need for the formation of a women's organisation and became one of the founding members of Maendeleo ya Wanawake which was at the time dominated by white women. Asiyu was made a committee member but says that the appointment was token, as African women played a secondary role. She was particularly keen on changing the activities of the organisation which, she says, did not help improve the lot of African women. "African women were taught irrelevant things, like how to cook British food, but we wanted our woman to become a force in the development process and part and parcel of the struggle for independence". Asiyu embarked on a mobilisation exercise aimed at encouraging African women to enrol as members of the organisation. Her efforts paid off for, in 1959, the African women managed to outvote their white colleagues and Asiyu was elected the first African president of the organisation, much to the dismay of white members, some of whom "resigned in disgust," says Asiyu "but there were also those among them who wanted us to progress."

In 1961, the new coalition government asked Asiyu to take charge of the decentralisation of women's prisons, since women shared prisons with men at the time. She resigned from her job as president of Maendeleo and left for training as a prisons officer. On completion of her training she was appointed assistant superintendent of prisons and later promoted to senior superintendent, the highest position held by a woman in the prisons service.



Apart from the decentralisation exercise, one of her other responsibilities was the introduction of rehabilitation programmes for prisoners. "It was a fulfilling job," says Asiyo "despite the fact that many of my male juniors found it hard to salute me." She recalls an incident when one male subordinate came up to her and said, "Forgive me madam, but I cannot salute you."

Asiyo stayed with the prisons until 1970, when she left to join the Child Welfare Society, as national executive officer. She worked with the society for eight years during which time she helped increase the number of the society's branches in the country from seven to 42. She left the society in 1978 when the government asked her to become the national coordinator of the United Nations 'Year of the Child'. In May, 1979, she resigned to contest the Karachuonyo parliamentary seat.

Why did she go into politics? According to Asiyo she had always wanted to help the people in Karachuonyo in the same way she had been helping people nationally, but when she started organising local welfare programmes in the area, the local leadership became suspicious and refused to accommodate her for fear that she was feeling her ground in preparation for a political debut. Asiyo denies that this was the case, but "they provoked me, and since they said I wanted to stand for the elections, I said to myself, why not? I might as well." Asiyo declared that she would challenge the sitting MP, Amayo, who was at the time an assistant minister for commerce and industry. "I had to summon up my courage," she says. "Amayo was a successful man, a powerful MP and an assistant minister who had represented the area for many years. But I was prepared to put up a fight, I gathered up all the confidence available and from then on I did not hesitate." Asiyo won the election against a field of four men to become the first female elected MP in the area.

Contrary to what most people might be inclined to think, Asiyo says that she does not have to be overly aggressive in order to survive the rough and tumble of a male-dominated election battle. "I don't think I am aggressive by nature, perhaps just assertive". According to Asiyo, the electorate is intelligent enough to understand and appreciate what she has to say, despite the fact that because she is a woman her male

opponents try to intimidate her during elections by hurling insults at her. She stands firm and does not play into their hands: "They expect to see my tears, but they will never see them," she says.

Asiyo feels that the secret of her success in politics is the fact that she has managed to identify fully with the electorate. She says that there are certain activities with the people which may appear trivial but which have helped her very much in politics. She has also discovered that to succeed in human relations one has to be a good listener. "Give everybody time," she says. "Sit there and listen, and then try to help."

Asiyo also feels that political awareness amongst Kenyan women has increased over the years. Women, she says, are close to the problems of people. A mother is close to a sick child or husband. She is the first to know there is no food in the house and she always feels the pain. That is why, because they take matters seriously, women take their voting rights seriously. "The can even deliver their babies when waiting to cast their votes," she says.

Asked whether there are any limitations to being a woman and an MP, Asiyo says that one drawback is that, whereas a male MP has a wife at home a female MP still has to take care of her home. She must provide for her husband's and children's comfort and this can be time-consuming. At the national level, Asiyo says that she sometimes experiences difficulties because some men do not accept that a woman can be a leader. They make her feel like an intruder into their world. "Some of them feel that the only things that a woman is qualified to talk about are social services and child welfare". It can be frustrating, she says, but, surprisingly, some of them do it in good faith. "I do not lose my head. The best thing to do is to gradually impress upon them that I am their equal," Asiyo adds, however, that "we also have men of good will among us who recognise the role of women and are willing to include them in decision-making".

Asiyo does not see herself as an MP simply for women. She represents the interests of both men and women in parliament but will not hesitate to contribute towards legislation that protects the welfare of women and children. She is still an executive member of the Mandelao ya Wanawake organisation and chairman of the Child Welfare Society. Asiyo

feels that Kenya has gone a long way as far as appointing women to high positions is concerned. She is particularly pleased with the president's choice of nominated women MP's, Mrs. Grace Ogot and Mrs. Rose Waruhiu who, she says, are able persons who will help further the cause of women in the country. As for the future role of Kenyan women in politics, Asiyo feels that they have a great deal to offer. They should have courage and recognise that they too have potential. "They should come out and try," she says. ■

#### Mrs. Grace Ogot

IT is one thing, after a tedious and expensive election battle, for a newly-elected MP to wait anxiously, some nervously, for the president to announce his new cabinet, and quite another for those men and women who do not contest elections but hear their names mentioned on the radio as among the president's choice of nominated MPs. So it was with Mrs. Grace Emily Ogot, mother of four and one of Kenya's better-known writers, who was nominated to parliament by President Moi two weeks ago. "I was surprised," says Ogot, "but very grateful to President Moi".

Ogot sees her new appointment as a welcome new challenge, having already served the country in diverse fields. Born in Siaya, in Nyanza Province, Ogot was educated at Maseno junior school, Butere Girls High School and Ng'iya Girls School. She then went to the Mengo nursing training hospital in Uganda in 1949 where she studied until 1953. She proceeded to St. Thomas Hospital, London and the British Hospital for Mothers and Babies, where she qualified as a state certified midwife, after which she returned to Kenya and worked as a midwifery tutor at Maseno Hospital in Western Kenya. She married in 1959 and returned to England the same year to work with the BBC, Africa division, as a scriptwriter and broadcaster for about two years. She returned to Kenya in 1961 to take up a new appointment as district community development officer and headmistress of Kisumu homecraft training centre. While she was there, she became the first woman to become a nominated councillor in the Kisumu municipal council. In 1963, she left for Uganda on a new appointment as

nursing sister in charge of student health services at Makerere University College. She returned home in 1965 and was appointed public relations manager for Air India in East Africa.

Besides her employment, Ogot has also served in various organisations. She was one of the founding members of the Kenya Writers Association and has been its chairman since its inception. She was a member of the Kenya delegation to the United Nations general assembly in New York in 1975 and a member of the Kenya delegation to the 19th general conference of Unesco in 1976. In August this year, Ogot became the first woman appointed to chair the teachers' appeal tribunal.

Of all her varied activities however, Ogot is best known as an author. She has written eight novels since her first book, *The Year of Sacrifice*, was published in 1961. Her latest novel, *A Call at Midnight*, is due for release early next year.

Ogot's interest in writing began when she was training as a nurse in London. At the time, she was engaged to her husband, now Professor Bethwell Ogot of the University of Nairobi, and in one of his letters he told her that she had poetic language in her letters and should try her hand at writing. That is when she began *The Year of Sacrifice*. Ogot recalls that her grandmother was a great storyteller. Ogot was moved by the stories and had always wanted to share them with people who did not know about her culture. "After I wrote my first novel and it was well received," she says, "I started working on the next one and I have never looked back."

Ogot says that all her novels have different messages but she has particular concern for the family as the nucleus of society. She also writes about the conflict between rural and urban life. When she started writing, Ogot says, most African writers were at the time addressing themselves to the conflict between colonialism and cultural heritage and, later, to the struggle in the development process between the haves and the have-nots. But Ogot feels that a lot of problems have arisen within society that are not related to colonialism or neo-colonialism, and they too must be given prominence. She feels that there has been a sharp deterioration in the ethics and morals of society and a great deal of this is due to urbanisation which, she says, "has disrupted the cultural

heritage which forms the basis of African life".

She agrees, however, that change is inevitable. "Even our forefathers believed that change comes with each successive generation, but it must be positive and we should not lose our identity as Kenyans". Ogot adds that whereas a synthesis of urban and rural life may eventually remove ethnic differences, it is desirable that at the same time it should strengthen our feelings as Kenyans. She disagrees with those critics of African literature who say that the theme of cultural heritage has been overtaken by events. While agreeing that external factors may weaken our cultural heritage, Ogot says that there are some fundamental beliefs that education or urbanisation cannot destroy. Funeral rites, for example, have not changed. An African man, however sophisticated, is usually buried at his home and not in a cemetery. Basic marriage rites, especially those related to negotiations, have also remained the same.

Ogot writes with deep concern for family life which she sees as the basis of a stable community. "It is in the home that a child grows up before going out into the world and the family unit must be protected." Over the last two years, Ogot has taken her writing very seriously. She opened an office in Kisumu where she has been based while working on a book on Luo proverbs. Her last two books, *Niaha* and *Simbi Nyaima*, are both written in Luo. The purpose of writing in her mother tongue, says Ogot, is to provide those who go through adult education programmes with reading material in their own language. "This will stimulate adult education." Ogot hopes that other writers will also use their mother tongues and she suggests that the ministry of culture and social services should make arrangements for such books to be translated into the various other languages in the country.

According to Ogot, literature does not only have to concentrate on negative aspects of life. "We should give credit where it is due, criticise when necessary, and then try to unify". Through literature, Ogot feels that junior Kenyan ethnic groups can learn about the other communities in their country. "It would also make it easier for young people to unite and understand each other," she says. Her new appointment will enhance her writing, she feels.

Now that she has been nominated to parliament, Ogot says she will have the opportunity to assist even more in development. She has always been interested in politics, but says it was out of her reach. "Politics are expensive," she says. As for the role of women in politics, Ogot recalls that women fought side by side with men to bring about independence. "If not physically, they fought morally, looking after the sick and cultivating the land." Since independence, too, Kenyan women have been on the move. Women's votes are crucial in our elections and Ogot feels that men and women should cooperate because no group can survive on its own.

As a busy working woman, Ogot says that professional engagements have not affected her family life. Her husband has given her encouragement as a writer over the years and, in the early days, he looked after the children when she was writing. But in order to be a successful working mother, Ogot says that a woman must strike a balance between her career and family. Her first duty is to her family and she should not arrange a working schedule which is so rigid that it takes away the relaxation of family life.

In parliament, Ogot feels that she will learn a great deal from those who have been there before. She does not see herself as a representative of women but as a representative of all Kenyans, although she firmly believes that the role of women is crucial in society. ■

#### Mrs. Rose Waruhiu

**MRS. ROSE Waruhiu**, one of the two women MP's nominated to parliament by President Moi, has been a prominent member of women's organisations in the country. The daughter of Mr. Samuel Githu, one of the first African district officers in the country, Waruhiu was born in Chomo, Kandara, in Murang'a District. She attended the local Chomo Primary School and Gituro Intermediate School before proceeding to Kahuhia Girls School, where she obtained her Cambridge School Certificate in 1963. In 1964, she was awarded a Dolverton Trust scholarship to go to Kenya High School for her Form Five and Six education. She was among the very few Africans who were in the school at the time but says she managed to cope and in fact became the first African to be appointed.



a house prefect in the school; when she was in Form Six, she was appointed deputy head girl.

After Kenya High, Waruhiu went to Makerere University College in 1966. She aimed to study sociology but on her arrival there decided that economics was a better option. At Makerere, Waruhiu participated in various extra-curricular activities and was elected an official of various student organisations, including the Kenya students organisation. She remembers Makerere as having been a very well-organised institution where students were encouraged to be responsible people. In 1969, she graduated with a BA degree in economics. Her immediate plan was to embark on a postgraduate degree programme but soon afterwards she was married to the now prominent Nairobi lawyer, Mr. George Waruhiu, of Waruhiu and Muite Advocates, and as a result postponed for a while the idea of further studies.

The same year that she left Makerere, Waruhiu joined the Central Bank of Kenya as an officer in the research department. She did not find the job stimulating enough, however, and the following year she left for a new job in the registrar's department of the University of Nairobi. She worked with the university for eight years and, by the time she left in 1978, had risen to the position of senior assistant registrar. As an assistant registrar, her work involved servicing various committees. She also sat on the appointments committee and the planning committee responsible for the introduction of new academic courses to the university. This involved gathering information and consulting with university professionals. "It was a very rewarding job," she says, "and it exposed me to education in a very wide sense." Waruhiu says she eventually left the university because the demands of her work as a senior registrar did not leave her enough time to look after her small children. She is now a management consultant with Deloitte Haskin involved in personnel work which includes executive recruitment.

In addition to her employment, Waruhiu has been an active member of women's organisations. Between 1974 and 1975, she was the chairman of the Kenya Association of University Women, and between 1975 and 1978 was vice-chairman of the National Council of Women of Kenya (NCWK). She is still a committee member of the

Association of University Women, a body that provides career guidance and bursary schemes for girls in secondary school. Waruhiu feels that her tenure as vice-chairman of NWCK came at an important time because it coincided with the International Year of Women (1975). She served as vice-chairman of the council for the regulation three years but the council asked her to stay on another year so she could organise the council's hosting of the international conference for women that was held in Nairobi in 1979.

Waruhiu is currently also a member of the Kenyatta National Hospital management board and was also a member of the University of Nairobi visiting and inspection committee 1982-1983.

Waruhiu says that the reason why women have organisations and men do not is because women feel that by coming together they can coordinate their opinions. "Men are in the mainstream of government and other sectors and women want to be integrated," she says. In addition to that, women's organisations are involved in a wide range of voluntary activities. These organisations, says Waruhiu, play an important role as they bring together women from different backgrounds, and proof of their importance is the fact that all government commissions ask women's organisations for their opinions.

Waruhiu does not entertain the notion that leadership in women's organisations is merely a pastime for elite women. According to her, a women's leader has to understand the feelings of rural women and since most of those well-to-do women who serve in women's organisations were brought up in the rural areas, they are conversant with the problems of rural life. In addition, says Waruhiu, one who has overcome her own needs is in a better position to help the less fortunate, and "successful and educated women should not be apologetic". Rural women, she says, know what they want and do not have to be told by leaders of organisations. What the organisations can do is assist in providing those facilities which are beyond the reach of rural women. Rural women, for example, may not be in a position to articulate their needs, and the organisations assist by putting these needs on paper and presenting them to the relevant authorities. Asked about the fact that many leaders of women's

organisations are wives of prominent men, Waruhiu says it is unfortunate that women are not looked at as individuals but as "somebody's wife".

On the effectiveness of women's organisations in the country, Waruhiu says that despite their comprehensive aims, their activities are hindered by lack of resources. Women leaders can only meet after work because their organisations cannot afford full-time employees. As for the role of women in national leadership, Waruhiu feels that most people have not reached a stage where they accept that women can be leaders. "Men," she says, "are often surprised when a woman succeeds." According to Waruhiu, men consider it unusual when a woman is appointed to a high position, and feel that a man has been deprived of the position. "We need a more positive attitude," she says. Waruhiu also feels that whenever women talk strongly about equality, they get the wrong reaction. "When we ask for women to be included in policy-making, we are not asking for a favour."

While agreeing that some women have been appointed to responsible jobs in the civil service and elsewhere, Waruhiu feels that there are still many able women who could be considered when selections are being made. She says it is hard for women to succeed in a

male-dominated society because of their family concerns and other pressures. They have to sacrifice more and they need a lot of self-confidence. "Women," she says, "are judged very critically and they have to be extra careful to protect their reputations." In addition, they are also victims of generalisation. It is inevitable that at times women in responsible positions have to take time off to attend to sick children, for instance; employers then tend to consider them liabilities and the generalised reaction is to say that women cannot be relied on. "Such people will be reluctant to employ women," says Waruhiu. Another problem for those women who would like to succeed in their careers is that some husbands cannot cope with their wives' successes, "yet a woman needs her husband's support".

On her nomination to parliament, Waruhiu says that she had no prior knowledge and the announcement took her by surprise. "But I was delighted," she says. Asked whether women MPs have a special role to play in parliament, she says that whereas it would not be good to place women MPs in a group of their own, there are certain matters about which women naturally feel strongly and they should be expected to comment on them. ■



ANDRIANARAHINJAKA REELECTED NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT

Antananarivo MADAGASCAR MATIN in French 10 Oct 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Johary Rakotonirina]

[Text] As predicted and as one might have expected, since his reelection had long been thought a certainty, Lucien Xavier Michel Andrianarahinjaka was again chosen as president of the National Popular Assembly (ANP) at Tsimbazaza Palace on Saturday. Voting was done by secret ballot by the AREMA [Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution] and the AKFA-KDRSM [Congress Party for Malagasy Independence-Democratic Committee To Support the Malagasy Socialist Revolution] groups. The other parties did not participate in this internal voting as the leader of the MONIMA [National Movement for the Independence of Madagascar], Monja Jaona, had already set the tone of the first signs of discontent with this second legislative session.

Monja Jaona and nine other deputies therefore walked out of the Saturday session following a rather heated discussion lasting several minutes of the methods of electing members of the Permanent Bureau of the ANP.

The inaugural meeting of the ANP had resumed the day after the opening of the second legislative session for these elections, presided over by senior member Bandriananja Charles, aided by deputy presiding officer Rasolofomanana Jean. A total of 134 out of the 135 deputies answered the roll call. Deputy Beresaka from Soanierana-Ivongo was excused.

It should be recalled that two deputies are still missing from the ANP because the fivondroana [villages] of Fianara 1 and Mahajanga 1 must still elect theirs, inasmuch as the HCC [expansion unknown] annulled the elections of 28 August in those two villages.

Following a reading of texts regulating elections in the ANP, Ramambazafy Armand, member of the AREMA Political Bureau, announced that that party was presenting its candidate for the presidency of the ANP, Lucien Xavier Michel Andrianarahinjaka, who had already headed the institution during the first legislative session. His candidacy was supported by the AKFM group, according to a spokesman for that party a few minutes later.

However, Odon Rafenoarisoa of the VITM [People's Movement for Solidarity], asked the presiding officer and the Assembly whether the Political Bureau if

the FNDR [National Front for the Defense of the Revolution] had consulted together or made any decision on the elections. If not, he wished to request a recess in order to give that Political Bureau or its representatives the time to discuss the matter. He mentioned different passages from the presidential speech the previous evening according to which "...the deputies gathering here are deputies of Madagascar...and political rivalries in election propaganda must cease in order not to damage the national unity...."

Another deputy from the same party supported him, saying that one should first of all debate and not proceed to the elections immediately.

The leader of the AKFM, Richard Andriamanjato, based on the texts, then made a motion to the effect that "no debate can take place with the senior member presiding," thereby hinting that debates of the type should take place well before the inaugural session and that one had to respect the law and the agenda -- that is, proceed to elect the members of the Permanent Bureau first of all and discuss later.

Monja Jaona then took the floor and claimed that already the words President Ratsiraka had spoken the evening before were not being respected: "The AREMA and the AKFM have rigged everything and we are not going to attend these elections," he said.

Rakotonirainy Germain, leader of the MFM [Militants for the Establishment of a Proletarian Regime] in the ANP, also left the room after saying that there are "parties they keep out and others they do not...." Nine deputies left the room after Monja Jaona. They were the members of the VITM and the MFM. The second MONIMA deputy, Randranto Marius, remained but cast a blank ballot in all elections. He even ran for the fifth vice presidency, but was not elected.

#### Coalition

There was indeed an AREMA-AKFM concertation during the first sessions of the ANP, especially concerning the elections. This always exists in politics and is never blameworthy in form. Coalitions come about between parties that can come to an understanding. But one still wonders why the FNDR was not used to establish a broader concertation in order to debate a possible arrangement with respect to the distribution of these seats on the Permanent Bureau.

Did the majority reject such a discussion or was it the minorities that did not want to take the first steps? If one looks at the situation in the ANP, the AREMA has a broad majority, which means that no party can take a seat away from it, especially if the elections are confronted in a scattered fashion. Furthermore, as must be the case and as in any self-respecting political party, that majority makes its decisions and defines its essential positions even before each meeting. This is especially true when it is a matter of elections, in order to avoid misunderstandings that might arise and that could hurt the party. This is what the AKFM perhaps understood and that which pushed it to draw closer to the AREMA, thereby obtaining majority support for its candidate for one of the vice president seats.

Obviously, the ideal thing would be this real concertation in the Front, where it would have been possible, for example, to discuss the problem of the election of the members of the Permanent Bureau not in terms of the seats obtained, but based on the number of voters from each party. This would contribute to better cohesiveness within the ANP, cohesiveness that is the very guarantee of greater effectiveness. However, who should take the first step? The majority, confident and with the strength of its superior numbers, or the minorities, rich in individuality, naturally, but still minorities? Naturally, the latter may have thought that in the future, they would be at the mercy of the majority in adhering to this type of "compromise." They also perhaps want, for that same future, to remain at a distance from decisions that might be made by the majority, especially those for which they do not want to pledge their responsibility as parties represented in the ANP.

#### Permanent Bureau

A total of 124 deputies therefore took part in the elections. The Permanent Bureau of the ANP is elected every year at the time of the first regular annual session, in keeping with Article 18 of the Constitution. According to Article No 86 of Ordinance 77-018 of 24 May 1977, it is made up of a president, five vice presidents and two treasurers. Voting may be secret or by raised hands, depending on the provisions made.

Michel Andrianarahinjaka was the only candidate for the presidency. His election was by a vote of hands and the results of the voting did not vary (always 123 out of 124). The vice presidents elected are:

Zakariasy Albert, AREMA, from the village of Anosibe an' Ala (faritany [higher administrative unit] of Toamasina); Randriamanohisoa Ranaivo Nelson, AREMA, from the fivondronana of Anjozorobe (faritany Antananarivo); Randriananja Charles, AKFM, fivondronana Manjakandriana (faritany Antananarivo); Kapoma Michel, AREMA, fivondronana Bealanana (faritany Mahajanga); and Amido, AREMA, fivondronana Ambilobe (faritany Antsiranana). Treasurers are Mata Arthur, AREMA, from Vangaindrano (faritany Fianarantsoa); and Razanaparany Zafinandro, AREMA, from fivondronana Taolagnaro (faritany Toliary).

Before moving on to the elections of session (non-permanent) secretaries, President Michel Andrianarahinjaka thanked the presiding officer and deputy presiding officer who directed the session. He also thanked the voters and parties that presented and supported candidates. He then guaranteed that the officers elected and he personally would do the utmost to carry out their duties, never do anything discriminatory and try to maintain good relations with other institutions.

11,464  
CSO: 3419/79

REPORT OF MALAGASY PRISONERS IN REUNION DENIED

Antananarivo MADAGASCAR MATIN in French 1 Oct 83 pp 1, 4

[Text] "Some 60 Malagasy nationals are reportedly imprisoned in Saint Denis for various crimes, travelers from the sister island report."

This was the headline that jumped out at us Thursday from a newspaper that deals in the sensational and that was very disappointing.

The fact is that the headline is false, absolutely false! At the present time, there is not a single Malagasy being held in the prisons of Reunion.

Anxious to inform and inform only within the limitations imposed by legislation on freedom of expression -- which one has to admit has become much more relaxed in the past few months -- it is the duty of MADAGASCAR MATIN to re-establish the truth every time that is possible. If it did not do so, any person could say and write anything any time.

Ideas are one thing; facts are another. Inventing facts is a serious matter, especially when one pretends, in inflated headlines, to give lessons in journalism.

While awaiting that lesson, here is another for beginning reporters and all our readers, who have the right to know how a real journalist conducts his investigation of an uncertain fact of this gravity: "60 reportedly incarcerated."

In Ivato, we learned from persons coming from Reunion that.... Interesting, but it would have to be verified. Where?

In Reunion, naturally, and in Madagascar, speaking with well-informed officials not always accustomed to concealing what they know.

In order to telephone Reunion, one dials 16, there is a tone, one dials 262 and then the number.

But where is information to be obtained?

From colleagues, first of all. But one must have some, naturally. Our colleagues in Reunion were not informed, but they were nice enough to investigate and they were called again in the evening.



Next it was the turn of the consul of Madagascar. He is the representative of Air Madagascar and therefore easy to get on the phone.

The consul was flabbergasted that the press of his country could carry such lies. He is actually more accustomed to reading them in the JOURNAL DE L'ILE DE LA REUNION. Moreover, if the JOURNAL DE L'ILE DE LA REUNION ignored the matter, if it did not seize the opportunity to discredit a little more a regime of which it is not particularly fond, is it not because the information is false? Or even better, nonexistent?

Pascal Velonjara, consul of Madagascar, questioned French authorities and even took the trouble to telephone personally all detention centers of the French Department of Overseas Territories to learn how many Malagasy they had. His insistence caused him to be asked: "Why? Do you want to send us some?"

The result of our investigation in Reunion: zero.

In Madagascar, it is obvious that the authorities are in the best position to say whether Reunionese prisons are overflowing with Malagasy nationals. The same response from three different sources: nothing.

A few miscellaneous bits of information gained along the way: There are a few cases of theft and minor crimes and more frequently, falsifications, entries scratched out on passports concerning the length of the tourist visa granted.

But in all these cases and in dealing with this type of crime, the authors are quite simply deported.

This was the conclusion of an armchair investigation that took four calls to Reunion and three to Antananarivo.

One may well wonder, after all, if the best means of maintaining good relations between Madagascar and Reunion is for our press to be guilty of excesses in turn? Lying is a curious approach for making human relations more moral.

Finally, is the right to travel to become a privilege once again, belonging only to the wealthy? That is the strange problem raised by that bizarre newspaper. Can one reasonably admit that only wealthy people who know how to act may enjoy the privileges of travel for "the good name of the entire country and its people"?

Are we dreaming?

In Madagascar in 1983, to demand a limitation...on others free to circulate?

And yet, we had the impression that one's image abroad was something to be tarnished by something other than bicycle thieves!



But let us conclude on a happier note: The French comic actor Pierre Richard so enjoyed the vacation he has not yet spent in Nosy-Be...that he has decided to return! Unless he inadvertently misses the plane, he is expected on the flight of Sunday, 16 October. For those of our colleagues who already saw him in Nosy-Be, let us state that he is not always dressed as he is in some of his films!

Who is the absentminded one?

11,464

CSO: 3419/79

SITUATION OF GERMAN COMMUNITY IN NAMIBIA DISCUSSED

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 8 Sep 83 p 4

[Article in German by Arthur Suren: "Quo Vadis IG"]

[Text] Last weekend's yearly congress of the Interest Society of German Speaking Southwesterners [IG] had been looked forward to with some excitement, at least by the German community in South West Africa [SWA]. The rowdiness, which many had predicted or expected, did not occur or at least not often.

The non-public parts of the congress were, of course, the most informative. However, delegates as well as "observing" members were bound to keep silent about these, so that the internal proceedings do not get all over the town of Windhoek.

The cracking of the joints of the IG was evoked by the Harare trips and the third talks held there between the executive committee of the IG and SWAPO. Perfect clarity about the relationships and events was evidently not yet provided at the congress.

The IG stuck to its original goals. Conversion into a party was unequivocally rejected by the congress. And yet, the Interest Society is a political group, which must also try to achieve its goal within the political framework and with political means.

But this 6th congress did not come up with clear definitions of such concepts as "politics," "party politics," "national interests come before personal interests," and the like either.

Hence, with a few exceptions, the executive committee did not dare maintain such clear principles as was generally expected. To be sure, it was forced to define its political tasks and goals itself, to set priorities, and in due course to make both "transparent" to the members, their regional groups and eventually also to the concerned public.

That is new. If the executive committee sticks to this, then it will no longer be able to act arbitrarily, as it has been accused of doing in the past. It maintained clear obligations, on the other hand, concerning its talks and "development of contacts" -- orientation talks with neighboring countries and parties within the country, yes, at least as long as they remain based on a liberal democratic foundation.

The expectation that the talks with SWAPO in Harare could "break the neck" of one executive committee member or another did not materialize. On the other hand, whether this was a full proof of confidence in all newly elected executive committee members remains to be seen. Meanwhile there is talk that the dreaded explosion was avoided only by a skillfully drawn up agenda and an equally skillfully placed talk, playing on the power of sympathy, by a member of the executive committee.

Mr von Schutz and former business manager Becker were newly elected to the executive committee. Mr Bruckner and Mr Lillienthal were re-elected. The latter had voluntarily offered to surrender his position. Whether the slight changes in the composition of the new executive committee of the IG will satisfy the members in the country who expected a basic change among the members of the executive committee is, according to reports, doubtful.

The IG undoubtedly has a significant task to fulfill in South West Africa, in the interest of the German speakers, in the interest of the whole country, and as an intermediary with the European area. It would be very significant if, because of division between its members and the executive committee which has obviously not been overcome, the IG were not able to fulfill this task.

During the public part of the congress a participant noted -- with an unambiguous reference to the criticism expressed by SWAPO's Nujoma -- that Palestinian guerrilla leader Arafat recently quoted an Arab "saying": "If you cannot cut off the head of your enemy, then you have to talk with him." On the other hand, this opinion has apparently not been eliminated, as SWAPO is more active than ever and a fact which cannot be argued away. As in other countries in the world, as in Vietnam, today also in Central America and even in Russia, such forces cannot be wished away; however, one has to try to turn these forces around.

While the IG congress "ratified" a friendly agreement between the top governing bodies of the RP [Republican Party] and the IG concerning the repeal of former cooperation agreements, the Interest Society, stressing its neutrality concerning party politics, disassociated itself from the RP and thus also from its ties with the DTA [Democratic Turnhalle Alliance].

In conclusion, the following cannot remain unmentioned: numerous messages of greetings sent to the IG congress, greetings from the German SWA/Namibia Organization personally delivered by its Honorary President Greiling, the very extensive message of greetings from the government of the FRG -- delivered by the personable new German ambassador in Pretoria --, the yearly report of IG President Dr Weitzel concerned with harmonization, and the guest lecture by Professor Dr Potgieter (University of Potchefstroom) on "The Republic of South Africa and the Future of SWA/Namibia."

But the future will first show in general what fruits the IG congress will produce in the coming year.

8463

CSO: 3420/1

NEED FOR SOUTH AFRICAN MEMBERSHIP IN UNITED NATIONS QUESTIONED

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 5 Oct 83 p 6

[Editorial: "We and the United Nations"]

[Text] Whatever can be said about the Reagan administration, the attitude now taken by the White House toward the United Nations is to be welcomed.

When one of the American representatives in the United Nations, Mr Charles Lichtenstein, told members of the United Nations that his government would wave them farewell without shedding a tear if they should leave, he did indeed express the feeling of most of the Western member nations toward that organization.

Members of the broad public, mostly white countries which are members of the United Nations, have been fed up for a long time already with that body's sanctimonious imperiousness on behalf of the Afro-Asiatic and communist blocs. The irony is that it is precisely the Western countries--and in particular the United States--which keeps that world institution going financially while for many years it has been serving as a forum for those who are out to take over the West.

If the Americans are angry at the United Nations, that is certainly a thousand times more true for Afrikaners. For the majority of whites, the United Nations is a stumbling block and entirely unacceptable due to its interference for many years in our internal affairs and the platform it offers to terrorist organizations.

But unfortunately the government does not appear to honor that standpoint, and South Africa's membership is continued in spite of the fact that that body on numerous occasions has proven that it is nothing but a communist front organization against South Africa.

The government even goes so far as to recognize the United Nations as "mediator" in the Southwest dispute and to cordially receive the secretary-general, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, in the country. That is entirely against public opinion.

The government argues that the United Nations is always useful to South Africa because it offers us an opportunity to be heard in an international forum. If there are any dividends from this policy, they are carefully hidden from the South African voting public.

South Africa in fact has nothing to lose by leaving the United Nations. By doing so we would be rid of the meddling of that organization which carries no benefit whatsoever for us.

## SOUTH AFRICA

### PROFESSOR URGES CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT APPROACH

Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans 9 Oct 83 p 20

[Commentary by Professor Robert Tusenius: "Strengthen the 'Yes' Vote With Such a Statement!"]

[Text] The government should as soon as possible announce a change in approach in order to obtain the largest possible yes-vote on 2 November.

That should be done now instead of additional advertising, obtrusive debates on TV or other Carlton conferences!

The fact is that the constitutional proposals, no matter how courageous that first step may be, create large-scale confusion, division and polarization.

These are symptoms of three related diseases: wrong methodology, wrong priorities and lost opportunities.

All three "diseases" will be explained briefly, not to give negative criticism but in a frank attempt to be positively helpful.

--The current approach will sink us. The government has no clear objectives. Its policy therefore is ad hoc, inconsistent and unsystematic. It is also often opportunistic, superficial, ill-considered and contradictory. Ambiguous words and concepts are gambled with, which are interpreted in one way by the right and in another way by the left.

The whites on the right of the government say: "Yesterday's 'no' is today's 'yes.' Thus what credibility does today have? The constitutional proposals of the government are a first step, but the next step(s) are vague and are being avoided. Will there be a black majority government? How can we still trust you?"

The blacks on the left of the government say: "You are playing with words: first it was independent homelands, next a constellation [of states], and now a confederation. But it is all the same bottle. You're only changing the label! You also speak of negotiating, but in fact you ignore our leaders and you merely force unilateral decisions. How can we trust you?"

/The current approach of the government thus will have to change drastically; it will sink us!/  
/



--In 1975 a military general publicly discussed for the first time the concept of the 80-20 war at a seminar of the Stellenbosch graduate School of Management: the modern anti-revolutionary struggle is 80 percent socioeconomic and only 20 percent military. If the socioeconomic struggle is lost because of the feelings and persuasions of non-whites, the military struggle doesn't even have to be embarked upon.

The concept of a total national strategy, which had been proclaimed already earlier by the military and Minister of Defense Mr P.W. Botha, was at that time 80 percent aimed at socioeconomic reform. Gradually that focus has started to change. The "total attack" started to dominate military thinking, and that in turn had an effect on government thinking.

The winning of feelings and persuasions of non-whites became less important than /defense/ on the external and internal level of threat.

The shifting of those two primary objectives should be corrected as soon as possible: back from total attack to internal reform!

--The tragedy of lost opportunities. Since February 1979 there have been attempts by the six leaders of the non-independent homelands to establish a joint statement of intentions with the government, in order to "divert the increasing polarization, to create trust inside and outside our borders and to enable South Africa to fulfill its role of leadership in the subcontinent."

None of that has materialized. On 19 July 1980 these leaders said that the government had sidestepped their request.

There are other examples (based on personal experience) of lost opportunities in relations between the government and non-radical leaders of homelands, urban blacks and Coloreds.

Opportunities for peaceful change will not continue indefinitely. The patience of non-radical leaders is not endless.

Consensus on the future of South Africa is still possible--on a just coexistence with self-determination for whites and without statutory discrimination against non-whites.

This trust is based on a personal experience of many years with political, community- and youth leaders of all population groups over the entire political spectrum, as well as on numerous intensive discussions and negotiations on these consensus possibilities, while taking into account reasonable "non-negotiable" requirements on both sides.

However, the main condition for reaching this consensus on peaceful change and on avoiding "nasty alternatives," is that the government must change its approach toward purposefulness, consistency, unambiguity, proper priorities and the utilization of all opportunities.

What is needed is inspiring statemanship instead of "clever" party politics.

An early statement of intentions, or at least a clear indication in this context, will not only be a guarantee for an immediate decrease in confusion, division and polarization--it will also help the government obtain the largest possible yes-vote on 2 November.

## SOUTH AFRICA

### RESPONSE TO WESTERN CRITICISM OF SOUTH AFRICA

Johannesburg DIE VADERLAND in Afrikaans 7 Oct 83 p 10

[Article by diplomatic correspondent Andre du Toit: "South Africa Has a Dilemma, not a Choice"]

[Text] The content of the two letters sent by Mrs Margaret Thatcher to one of her party's rightist backbenchers, Mr Ian Lloyd (which, according to the British Embassy in Pretoria, was rather selectively interpreted by the SAUK [South Africa Broadcasting Corporation]) does not need to surprise anyone.

Even if the complete text of the two letters has only just now been made public, and even though the content can be interpreted in all (political) directions, the opinions of Mrs Thatcher--or of whoever may be responsible for the text--are not unrepresentative of the Western world.

Nor do they differ from those of previous Conservative British prime ministers--perhaps with the exception of Sir Winston Churchill, but at that time there were ties of friendship with field marshal Smuts and the camaraderie resulting from the war years.

The start of the perturbed relationship with the United Kingdom perhaps started with Smuts' defeat in 1948 and with the fact that subsequent national prime ministers pursued a policy which collided head on with that of the United Kingdom.

But that is history now, and the historical introduction to the current state of affairs concerns not only the United Kingdom. The fact is that the policy of the United Kingdom toward South Africa essentially does not differ from that of the FRG, France or the United States.

It may also be argued that South Africa's relations with its Western trade partners would have been perturbed anyway, even if the word "apartheid" or "separate development" had not crept into our vocabulary.

It may be argued that it is not as much South Africa's racial policy which has radically changed (except that racial segregation was entered into the code of law, while in the past it was simply "practiced").

What has changed is the world around South Africa, and in this post-colonial period South Africa is finding itself in a world in which the norms and standards of

what is called the West differ radically in many respects from its own--although South Africa states with monotonous regularity that it is part of that Western family of nations. The standpoints maintained in London are also those of Washington and Bonn, Paris and Rome. And those standpoints put self-interest first. Just as South Africa is pursuing certain policies out of self-interest without considering their results for the rest of the world.

To illustrate the above: Western diplomats with whom DIE VADERLAND has had discussions recently all are concerned about what is euphemistically called "destabilization." This means the providing of arms, ammunition and training to guerrilla groups in Mozambique or Angola.

The counter argument is that this is done--if it is indeed being done--as a counter-measure to the housing of ANC members who stealthily enter the Republic to commit sabotage. And in the case of Angola, it is pointed out that SWAPO has all its bases in that country.

Western countries, including the United States, argue that this will only drive countries such as Angola and Mozambique further into the arms of communism. That reasoning is based on the following:

--Someone like President Samora Machell is still maintaining a large degree of independence in foreign policy. But increasing guerrilla activities against his government will force him to accept more and more communist help.

--It is being argued that the success of Jonas Savimbi's UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] actions is also driving Angola further into the arms of the Kremlin.

The following is also regularly brought up:

Even if the new constitution goes into effect, that means that barely 30 percent of the population will govern the blacks who represent 70 percent of South Africa.

Thus the (perhaps) oversimplified view abroad is that South Africa is primarily a black country which is governed by a small minority, and that the communists like to usurp such situations to their own advantage.

Diplomats will tell you that the script for the future will consist of increasing sabotage, supported by the Soviet Union, with the ultimate goal of putting a black government in power in Pretoria which is sympathetic toward Moscow.

Then why not rather support that minority and take care that that doesn't happen? one might ask.

Diplomats argue that this would cause the West to lose influence in countries which so far have been favorable to the West.

The fact is that this would be catastrophic for Washington or Paris in the Third World where there is tough competition for influence. The West then could be accused of helping to keep a government in power which suppresses the majority.

This is the standpoint of the British Government and all other governments which economically maintain strong ties with South Africa.

And this is the unusual dilemma in which South Africa finds itself. Pretoria has to make itself politically "acceptable" to the West without liquidating itself.

When all these problems are considered against the background of a black population which year after year makes up a continually larger percentage of the total population, things become even more complicated, and increasing pressure may be expected from the West.

The dissolving of the colonial empires of Portugal, France and the United Kingdom and the safe buffer of that area will throw an even larger and darker shadow on South Africa in the future.

8700

CSO: 3401/11



CRITICISM OF SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY DENOUNCED

Bloemfontein DIE VOLKSBLAD in Afrikaans 10 Oct 83 p 6

[Editorial: "Hypocrisy"]

[Text] If South Africa had not existed, black Africa would have had to invent it. For black nations need someone to blame for everything that goes wrong and something to take attention away from their own domestic problems. The irony of the matter, however, is that South Africa is condemned for supposedly not meeting the requirements of a Western democratic system, by complainants who do not themselves make the slightest effort to maintain those standards.

In connection with reports that Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan [of Lesotho] had interfered in South African politics by sending a telegram to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu, Minister Pik Botha appealed to leaders in southern Africa to see the truth and to be honest with each other.

South Africa can be criticized because it is not Marxist and because it is not interested in a dictatorship by the largest population group. There are reasons for that. But not because it is no longer sticking to a pattern which everywhere has been found to be inappropriate for Africa. That would be transparent hypocrisy.

The sociopolitical system which is functioning successfully in most of the homogeneous, civilized Western countries simply cannot be merely transplanted to Africa. In South Africa, with its enormous differences in cultural patterns, value systems and individual goals, the Westminster system served for a time for a certain group of the population, but to gratuitously expand this under the PFP [Progressive Federal Party] policy to every inhabitant of this country is, to say the least, unrealistic.

Hence the striving of the government to cooperate with other states in a southern African context on a basis of recognition of mutual differences and individual patterns of living. This would be to the advantage of everyone, especially from an economic and security point of view--but then everyone has to be honest with the others in describing its own objectives and in establishing its own national aspirations.

8700

CSO: 3401/11

ZULUS, PROGRESSIVES URGE OPPOSITION TO NEW CONSTITUTION

Bloemfontein DIE VOLKSBLAD in Afrikaans 6 Oct 83 p 16

[Editorial: "Black Pressure"]

[Text] The strongest argument for a "no" vote in the referendum is coming from Chieftain Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu: If they vote "yes" they are going to make the Zulus angry. In his dream of a unitary state in South Africa, in which he would be wielding the scepter of leader of the most numerous nation, there is no place for an order of things designed to protect the reasonable rights of whites, coloreds and asiatics and to promote separate nationalisms among the black peoples.

Now he has succeeded in getting five other national states leaders, as well as black business and church leaders, to join with him in opposing the new constitution. Their particular resentment is against the entrenchment in the constitution of the "narrow Afrikaner ideology of white supremacy" under the "Afrikaner dominated Nationalist Party" and the establishment of racial separation as the state's guideline.

It is astonishing to hear it right from the mouths of leaders of already independent states that the homelands system cannot work and that they would like to have a national convention along the pattern of the progressives for working out a constitution for South Africa.

This is because people who talk like that are already a part of that system and their greatest interest lies in the continuation of such a system. But in the heat of the referendum campaign, in which they are not participating, one must of course expect strange statements whenever they attempt to exercise pressure upon the whites.

Buthelezi, who has already specifically warned the coloreds and Indians that he is watching carefully how they are going to vote, is now appearing before white audiences in Natal, doing so under the protection of the Progressive Federal Party, with the message that the whites will make his task easier by voting "no" even though the rest of the country might be voting "yes". So here we have the thinly veiled threat of violence while he is reminding the whites of the Zulu preponderance in numbers.

These sorts of actions point to a desperate presentment, on the part of the Progressive Federal Party and the black leaders, that the whites are going to choose the road of reasonability...something which will be creating difficulties for all those who would turn the country around and transform it into a "non-racial" unitary state in which color plays no role, but only numbers do so.

7964

CSO: 3401/12

MAWU CLIMAXES ANTI-REFERENDUM CAMPAIGN

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 1 Nov 83 p 2

[Article by Joshua Raboroko]

[Text]

FOSATU'S Metal and Allied Workers' Union (MAWU) has announced that the campaign against the government's constitutional proposals, and employers who support the government, had reached a climax with most employers saying "we are not concerned with politics".

The Union's Transvaal branch secretary, Mr Moses Mayekiso, said the campaign would go beyond an attempt to challenge employers on their stance on the constitution which forbids the majority of workers any political rights.

Fosatu produced over 80 000 pamphlets spel-

ling out its rejection of the constitutional plan and urging shop stewards to challenge their employers on their attitude to it. The campaign was intensified in most industries yesterday and will reach a climax today.

The federation also warned employers who supported the government that they were destabilising labour relations and would in future learn the hard way to listen to their workers on political issues.

Since the pamphlets were distributed to employers asking whether they would vote "yes" or "no" there has been a growing response from

them saying: "We are not concerned with politics," according to Mr Mayekiso.

He said that in some instances shop stewards had been victimised for challenging management on the issue and this had resulted in labour unrest involving some 140 workers.

Major trade union federations such as the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa), the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU), Black Allied Workers' Union (BAWU) and other emerging unions, have announced their rejection of the constitutional proposals.

CSO: 3400/200



## REFERENDUM PAVES WAY FOR NEW AFRIKAANS-ENGLISH ALLIANCE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Jaap Theron]

[Text]

**YESTERDAY'S** referendum will bring about a "political earthquake in South Africa," Professor Willem Kleynhans, political commentator of Union, said yesterday.

Analysing the outcome of the referendum, Prof Kleynhans said the party political order in South Africa — in existence since 1910 — has now been destroyed.

He said a new political order, including the majority of Afrikaans speaking and English-speaking South Africans, would now be formed.

He said this new order to be formed around the Government's new constitutional reform plans were based on the White man's fear of being overwhelmed by Blacks.

He said members of the Progressive Federal Party as well as the English industrial and business community, who traditionally were not interested in politics, had sided with the Government in the referendum "because they saw the new constitution as a safe

harbour for their fear of the Black threat."

The referendum result "has mortally wounded the PFP."

Prominent PFP members, as well as English-speaking businessmen of the Opposition parties saw a safeguard for their political and business interests in the new constitution.

At the same time the average National Party supporters felt safe behind a strong Prime Minister and they fully supported his reform plans.

On the other hand the Herstigte Nasionale Party/Conservative Party factions were now forced to form a single party — and if they did not yesterday's referendum results had finally also spelt the end for these two Rightwing parties, Prof Kleynhans said.

Prof Kleynhans also predicted that many supporters of both the PFP and HNP/CP would join the ranks of the NP. His reason for this was that the NP was strongly in the saddle — the government of the day — and was likely to successfully execute its new policy with the support of the majority

ty of the nation.

He said the New Republic Party had also finally lost its right to exist after pushing its full weight behind the Government's reform plans.

There was no further reason for the NRP to continue as a separate party and he sooner it disappeared into the NP the better.

Prof Kleynhans said the government's tactics had, after many decades of separate Afrikaner and English politics, now forced the English-speakers to get involved in politics of the Afrikaner Government.

He predicted the NP would hence forth undergo a total and massive transformation in order to accommodate English-speakers.

Another well-known Union political commentator, Professor S A S Strauss said the most important conclusion from yesterday's referendum was that "it showed there was a countrywide tendency, cutting right across party political lines, of people backing modernism in the centrist political sphere."

This tendency of centrist moderacy, which has now been proved to include two-thirds or more of the entire electorate, had not place for either Rightwing or Leftwing radicalism, he said.

The referendum result showed the PFP--many of them must have voted "Yes"--had a strong moderate element who were prepared to cooperate with the government on a centrist basis.

While the Rightwing radicals would not have any further significant role to play in the Prime Minister's centre politics, the PFP on the other hand--being a reformist party--would now be forced to give more attention to practical reforms plans as part of its policies.

Prof Strauss said he had predicted a "yes" victory from the outset, but the final results had surprised everyone.

The result must necessarily be considered a victory for moderation.

"Afrikaans and English-speakers--like in Mr B J Vorster's heyday--have in fact now united in their political views."

Prof Strauss said the future inevitably lay with the moderates and for that reason the referendum landslide victory for the Government must be considered as a setback for both Left and Right-wing radicals.

The positive outcome was both the result of the Prime Ministers prominent statesmanship and of the New Republic Party's constructive supporting role, he said.

CSO: 3400/200

## STUDENT LEADER SPEAKS OUT AGAINST NEW CONSTITUTION

Cape Town THE CAPE TIMES in English 22 Oct 83 p 6

[Article by Kate Philip NUSAS President]

[Text]

THE argument that the new constitution is a "step in the right direction" places an unfounded amount of trust in the historically ungrounded notion of the good intentions of the National Party. Furthermore, this argument is based entirely on the fact that coloureds and Indians will be included in the new structures and on no other aspect of the new system. It completely ignores the non-negotiable terms on which coloureds and Indians are invited to participate:

- Not only are Africans entirely excluded, but the new constitution is premised on their permanent exclusion and on the irreversibility of the Bantustan system.

- The cornerstones of apartheid are built in and are necessary for the functioning of the new system — i.e. the Group Areas Act, Population Registration, Influx Control and Pass Laws.

- Under the guise of "power-sharing", the new constitution strengthens white domination by maintaining ethnic division. The key decision-making bodies are divided on the basis of four whites: two coloureds: one Indian, so that white control is ensured.

- The way is open for one-party domination and effective dictatorship by the State President, who will come from the ruling white party.

- Even at the level of parliamentary opposition, the new constitution constitutes a marked regression. Real decision making will be removed from the Parliaments to the higher echelons of the government hierarchy, where posts are largely by appointment of the executive president.

Implicit in the "step in the right direction" argument is the notion that in the long term, urban Africans and maybe even the African majority, will be included in the structures of government. But this entirely misses the point of the new

system — one of the rationales for trying to draw coloureds and Indians in on some levels of government, for trying to give coloureds and Indians some sense of having a stake in the system, is in order to strengthen the laager against the "threat" of black majority rule, and to wreck the growing unity between all of those at present suffering under apartheid laws.

At the same time as the new constitution has been stealing the limelight, a range of measures have been introduced which make clear the state's intentions to tighten up the effectiveness of all the mechanisms designed to strictly control the African population, to ensure that the bantustans continue to provide a cheap labour supply for South Africa and to ensure the permanent political exclusion of the African majority.

The key features of this strategy are:

- The tightening up and strict enforcement of influx control, including the threatened introduction of R5 000 fines for employing an African worker without a pass;

- The demolition of squatter camps, regardless of the housing backlog and the fact that many squatters have "urban rights". Three thousand shacks were destroyed in Crossroads in one week;

- The stepping up of resettlement, forcibly removing whole communities against their will to within the boundaries of the barren bantustans;

- The granting of "independence" to still more pockets of wasteland, to be run by petty despots sanctioned by Pretoria. Kwanabele is next on the list;

- The high level of repression in the African areas, e.g. the shooting of Saul Mkhize, community leader; the violence in Lamontville, the state of emergency and curfews in the Eastern Cape;

- The increasing extent to which the bantustans are playing a complementary role of political control, using South Africa's methods, but with more emphasis on

the iron fist than the velvet glove. The detention of more than a thousand people in Ciskei in the last months, and the banning of SAAWU, the trade union with mass membership from workers in East London factories, who commute from Ciskei daily.

However, while the Nats can close the doors of Parliament to black South Africans, exclude them from decision-making and devise increasing mechanisms to control their lives, they cannot prevent black South Africans from uniting as a major political force.

Time and time again, the majority of South Africans have shown through their united actions that they can change the course of South Africa's history.

Their actions have political effects that the Nats cannot obscure through parliamentary debate or through constitutional sleight of hand. It is thus a narrow view that understands politics purely in terms of parliamentary politics, and sees change as necessarily coming from this arena. The driving force for change in South Africa is not coming from within Parliament, but from outside of it — from those excluded from this forum, who reject its legitimacy and its right to impose pass laws, resettlement and detentions on the people of South Africa.

Rejecting the legitimacy of the current Parliament does not, however, mean an acceptance of violence as the only other solution. The growth and development of a broad, non-racial democratic movement in South Africa over the past years has shown this. The launching of the United Democratic Front with more than 400 organizations committed to these principles, and to fighting the state's "reform" initiatives, bears testimony to this highly significant political development in South African history.

The organizations making up the UDF have emerged primarily since 1976 and are a response to the way in which apartheid and the exploitation that goes with it, reaches into all aspects of life in South Africa. All over the country, people have come together in organization to share their resources, combine their strength, and tackle the problems of unequal education, low wages, poor housing conditions, resettlement, the division of families and all the factors making life in South Africa a burden for so many. United, these organizations form the real movement in South Africa. It is with this movement that Nusas allies itself.



**GOLD, DROUGHT, SALARIES PLAGUE ECONOMY**

Bloemfontein DIE VOLKSBLAD in Afrikaans 3 Oct 83 p 12

[Editorial: "Too Dependent"]

[Text] This week gold, the big earner of foreign currency, suddenly became the object of great concern in South Africa's economy. There is no doubt that the drastic slump in the value of the yellow metal came at a very inopportune time.

The reason for this is that it is putting a strain on the treasury at a time when the large scale unforeseen outlay for drought relief has reached so high a level as to cause concern. There are now no signs that the drought's grip will soon be relaxed. To be sure the agricultural situation in the northern sector of the republic is getting more critical everyday. Moreover, the picture is even more somber if we bear in mind that the announced January salary increases for civil servants will also have to come from the treasury.

This state of affairs is, to say the least, an irritant for the expected economic recovery. If the recovery is delayed this can only mean that the average South African will have to brace himself for a new series of painful sacrifices.

All we can do is hope that the summer rains will come in time and be sufficient to get agriculture going again, even though this would have to be done with the input of an enormous amount of money.

In addition it is to be hoped that gold will once again demonstrate its traditional strength by soon rebounding at a time when developments in the precarious world economy are forcing it to drop in earnest.

Perhaps the panic selling, which burst like wildfire earlier this week, will turn around just as quickly. But even then there is doubt as to whether gold will again climb to new heights at anytime soon. Unlike previous occasions the political complications of the recent past have had little positive effect on the price of the metal.

Perhaps this latter tendency must lead us to consider building a permanent protective wall ahead of time for coping against sudden slumps, for example,

the creation of a stabilization fund for compensating against losses like those incurred this week.

But what is even more important for us is to push our export capacity upwards on a much wider front. We are depending on our gold too heavily.

7964

CSO: 3401/12

# BER URGES GOVERNMENT TO CURB UNEMPLOYMENT

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 26 Oct 83 p 11

[Article by Michael Chester: "Smaller Families: The First Step Out of the Breadline"]

[Text]

The Bureau of Economic Research (BER) at the University of Stellenbosch believes it is the Government's responsibility to introduce measures to meet the growing unemployment problem.

After the urgent introduction of moves to encourage smaller families by adopting a policy of voluntary population control, the next priority should be a national blueprint on education and training to produce a labour force tailor-made to suit the South African economy. This should place renewed emphasis on a higher status for technicians and the elevation of more black labourers into skilled jobs.

Third should be a reduction in bureaucratic red tape to give thrust to the development of the small business and, especially, the informal sector. This sector has the potential to create huge numbers of jobs but, at the moment, is burdened with unrealistic impediments due to outmoded legislation.

Next, fiscal incentives should be switched from capital-intensive industries into ventures with an emphasis on job creation.

Finally, as an essential interim measure to provide short-term relief for the jobless, the Government should consider changing the pattern of public

sector spending "with the specific aim of putting people to work".

The BER argued in a special study of short and long-term unemployment problems that the responsibility for its proposed measures lay exclusively with the Government whose action programme needed to be both innovative and exhaustive.

"Fortunately," commented Mr J J Laubscher, the study's main researcher, "the Prime Minister has ordered his Economic Advisory Council to be totally positive in its search for new solutions and the issue has been given high priority behind the scenes."

One of the surprise conclusions in the study explodes the conventional theory that economic growth alone can provide the solutions to unemployment problems.

It has long been accepted that an economic growth rate of between five and 5.5 percent should be enough to keep the lid on the number of jobless in South Africa.

But the study provides statistical evidence of trends that shatter this theory.

It sets out to prove that a shift towards more capital-intensive production processes shows that fewer and fewer

| SECTORAL EMPLOYMENT     |                            |            |         |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------|---------|
| Sector                  | Number of Workers Employed |            | Change  |
|                         | September 1981             | March 1983 |         |
| Mining                  | 724 604                    | 672 891    | -51 713 |
| Manufacturing           | 1 484 500                  | 1 399 800  | -84 700 |
| Electricity             | 50 100                     | 59 600     | +9 500  |
| Construction            | 443 400                    | 424 600    | -18 800 |
| Commerce                | 775 873                    | 770 284    | -5 689  |
| SA Transport Services   | 271 395                    | 250 317    | -21 078 |
| Post Office             | 78 197                     | 89 666     | +11 469 |
| Finance                 | 135 329                    | 146 619    | +11 290 |
| Government — all levels | 985 333                    | 980 726    | -4 607  |

new jobs are being created as a direct result of simple economic growth measurements:

● Between 1972 and 1977, real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) — the popular gauge of economic growth — increased by 15,6 percent and the number of job opportunities available increased by 16,2 percent.

● Between 1977 and 1982, in an identical five-year period, while GDP rose by 20,2 percent, only 7,3 percent more jobs were created.

The swing from labour to capital intensity was underlined by trends in the cost of the capital stock needed to back each employee on the payroll.

In the transport and communications sectors, the average cost of creating one employment opportunity rocketed between 1970 and 1980 from R22 400 to R32 800.

In manufacturing firms, the cost climbed from R5 100 to R8 400.

Calculating an average for all the main sectors — from modern agriculture to mining — the BER found that the cost

of every single new job had jumped from R9 000 to R14 000.

And the trend was accelerating — spurred on because labour was becoming more expensive as real wages rose faster than productivity while the cost of capital was held at an artificially low level by a variety of fiscal measures to encourage capital formation.

The BER study concludes:

● Fiscal incentives to encourage the substitution of capital for labour should be phased out.

● Wages should increase at a rate fixed to productivity performance.

The researchers found that, while it was safely assumed that unemployment among white workers was negligible even in the recession, the registered number of unemployed workers of races other than white vastly understated the problem.

It should be accepted, the study states, that the true position is worse than that revealed in figures taken from the current population census showing black unemployment at 470 000 at the last count six months ago.

Distortions were also shown in the structure of education programmes so far:

● Sixty percent of manufacturers covered in a mid-year survey indicated that a shortage of skilled labour was causing bottlenecks.

● At the identical moment, 50 percent of the Coloured and more than 60 percent of the black workers out of jobs had, at best, reached an education level of standard 5.

"The dimensions of the unemployment problem are larger than sometimes reckoned," said Mr Laubacher. "It needs a monumental national programme to set us on the right track to find the cures."

"We need to start with curbing the population explosion, understanding it is a highly sensitive issue that needs diplomatic handling. And go all the way to a really active encouragement of the informal sector — the sort of small business ventures that start up in backyards but which, nevertheless, find many jobs. At the moment they are becoming ensnared and, sometimes, closed by an entanglement of useless red tape."



## JOBS SQUEEZE EASES AS FIRMS FOREGO CUTBACKS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 27 Oct 83 p 11

[Article by Michael Chester]

[Text]

The prolonged squeeze on jobs as labour forces have shrunk in the recession has eased for the first time since the collapse of the "boom" period nearly two and a half years ago.

A nation-wide survey conducted by Manpower International has revealed the first upward swing in the demand for labour since June 1981 as companies prepare themselves for an economic revival, popularly forecast to begin in the middle of 1984.

Mr Ralph Parrott, chairman and managing director, says positive signals are flashing for job hunters as more companies restart recruitment and fewer of them plan more retrenchments.

The survey showed the number of companies set to increase their labour forces by the year end had jumped on a national average to 13,7 percent and 12,8 percent for white and black workers respectively, while there had been a dramatic shrinkage in firms planning more cutbacks.

The renewed recruitment drive was being led by the larger companies, among whom as many as 37,5 percent planned to increase their staff levels by the end of the year. Very few intended further trimming.

Firms planning to increase white staff now out-numbered firms planning further cutbacks

by nearly two-to-one. Firms reporting plans to trim down on black workers had tumbled to less than half the number counted in the first six months of the year.

To judge the business mood in wide perspective, the survey brought in senior executives from 1 300 companies and Government departments which between them employ more than a million workers.

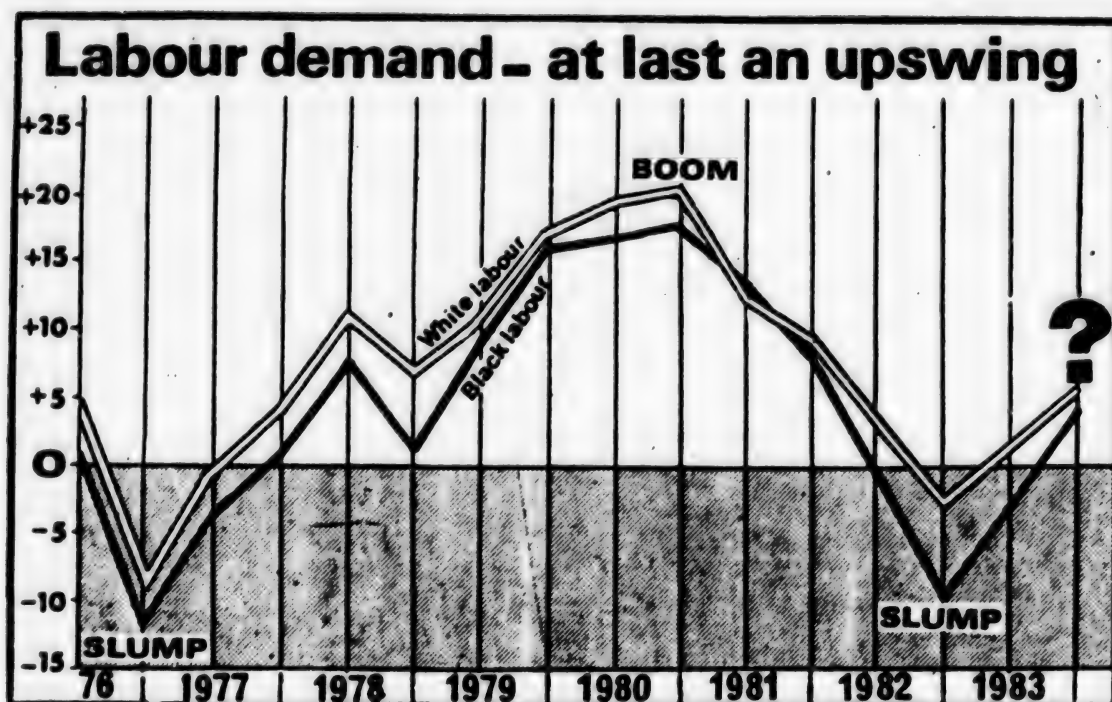
The results showed the first employees likely to enjoy the benefits of the turnabout in labour demand are unskilled black labourers — normally the workers who suffer the most in a job squeeze.

Often one of the most sensitive to the economic climate, the retail sector expected a great improvement in job prospects for both black and white staff in the next few months.

The building industry — another good indicator of trends — also showed a far more positive outlook, with anticipations of expansions likely to have a beneficial impact on many supplier industries.

Brick and cement producers expected to boost demand for new labour by about 20 percent in the second half of the year as a whole.

Motor manufacturers calculated they would need an overall 10 percent increase in their



labour forces by the year end, promising to boost employment prospects in and around Pretoria and the Eastern Cape in particular.

Geographically, the areas showing the greatest jobs' potential were the Eastern Cape, followed by Natal and the Witwatersrand for black workers and the Vaal Triangle and the Cape Peninsular for white staff.

"Because it is the first upward movement since the beginning of 1981, the trends must be regarded as highly encouraging," said Mr Parrott.

"However, we cannot necessarily conclude that the recession will be short-lived or that an end to retrenchments and redundancies is in sight."

CSO: 3400/200

## BER FORESEES NO IMMINENT CHANGE IN ECONOMIC FORTUNES

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 27 Oct 83 p 19M

[Article by Trevor Walker]

[Text]

A decided change in this country's economic fortunes is not imminent. "Survival will still be the key word for the private sector for at least nine months."

This view is expressed by the authoritative Bureau for Economic Research at the University of Stellenbosch in its Prospects for 1984 disclosed today.

The bureau makes a number of startling predictions, not the least being that the rand will have strengthened to 1,02c US by the end of 1984.

Other predictions include:

A 10 percent surcharge on personal and company tax.

An average inflation rate of 10,1.

A prime rate of 15 percent at the end of 1984.

The 90-day acceptance rate at 12,25 percent at year-end.

M-2 increase in excess of 15 percent.

A current account surplus of R1,6 billion for 1983.

A visible trade balance of R6,3 billion in 1984.

A qualified increase in the GDP growth rate of 4,9 percent in 1984.

An increase in government spending of 18 percent next year.

An increase in government revenue of only 10 percent in 1984 on present tax.

An overall increase in domestic credit expansion of 8,5 percent.

The bureau says that given the lack of a proper export base, and the high inflation rate, it would seem as if the authorities have little option but to retain a broadly restrictive stance for at least the next six months or more.

Should the expected overseas recovery by then start to spill over into a

higher demand for exports, and the continuation of the present recessionary conditions in the domestic economy have a further dampening effect on inflation, some change can be foreseen. But initially it will be cautious and marginal.

The 10 percent increase forecast in government revenue, as opposed to the 18 percent increase in spending, will leave the authorities with an uncomfortably high deficit before borrowing, and will keep domestic interest rates so high as to impede any revival in the economy.

Although it can be assumed that the authorities will try to borrow more abroad than in the present financial year it would seem as if some increase in taxation will be inevitable.

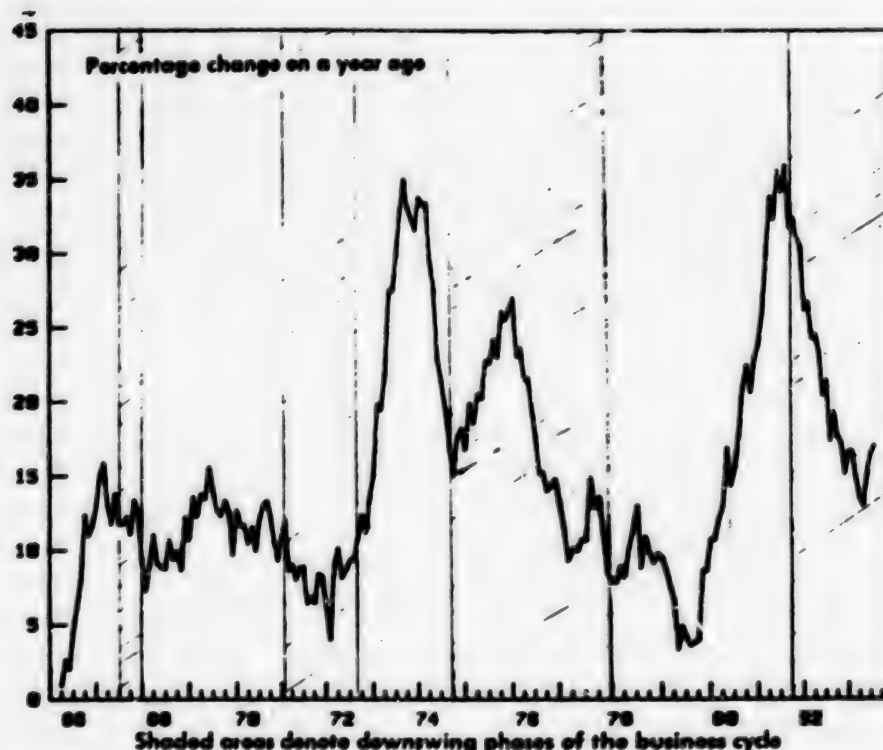
As it was at the end of 1982, the authorities will be faced with the choice of having to intervene in the foreign exchange market, keeping the rand somewhat lower to protect the non-gold exporters and to build up net reserves.

The bureau says it believes that this might be the case until about the middle of 1984.

At that time the demand for merchandise exports will start to rise sharply and net reserves will be in a much healthier shape.

Therefore a build-up of domestic liquidity and declining interest rates, the bureau believes, will be countered through open-market transactions and discount policy.

Furthermore, it says, the demand for funds from the public sector will be such that the decline in interest rates will be relatively modest in comparison with previous cycles, and will re-



main positive in real terms throughout the the year.

Given the expected addition to the cash reserves of the banks and consequent upon the overall balance of payments position (which will be somewhat moderated by the increased cash reserves required to be held as a result of the projected increase in bank liabilities and notes in circulation) it will probably be necessary for the Reserve Bank to take measures to sterilise cash reserves.

This implies that the bank will have to be active sellers of securities in an endeavour to make the newly resurrected discount policy effective.

The bureau expects a decided turning point in the business cycle in the second quarter of 1984.

It says the drought will have a severely distorting effect on the overall growth rate as expressed in GDP terms.

With the the business cycle downturn levelling out and turning upwards, albeit slowly, this process of destocking, assuming a normal weather pattern next year, will be arrested and possibly turned around.

Such a change brings about a much sharper statistical reaction in GDP than is warranted by the actual change in the level of total expenditure on GDP.

Overall, corporate profits probably will decline in nominal and real terms in 1983, but some improvement, at least in nominal terms, is expected next year.

Expenditure on durable goods declined by 1.2 percent in 1982. With consumer finances still under considerable strain, and interest rates remaining fairly high, a further negative reaction in spending on durables must be expected.

A decline of about 5.7 percent on annual basis is expected in 1983, followed by a further but lower decline of about three percent next year.

The sharpest decline in 1983 probably will occur in spending on personal transport, where a decline of about nine percent is forecast.

In contrast, spending on furniture and household appliances is expected to increase further this year, reflecting the continued buoyancy in the residential market.

The bureau says that given its expectation that the number of new houses to be erected will decline in 1984, spending on furniture and appliances might follow the same trend. The already nominal improvement in consumer finances could lead to some increase, even if only marginally, in spending on transport equipment.

The clothing and footwear market is expected to remain in the doldrums for at least the first half of next year and to show a further decline of about two percent for the year as a whole.

Expenditure on food, beverages and tobacco is expected to slow next year, indicating an adjustment by consumers to a lower standard of living.

There are clear signs that the consumer is adjusting himself to his lower real income by spending less and repaying debts previously incurred.

This adjustment process probably will continue for some time.

Thus it is expected that personal savings and the savings ratio will improve during 1983 and 1984. Nevertheless the savings ratio will be low at the end of 1984.

CSO: 3400/200



## SIX ISCOR FURNACES CLOSE DOWN DUE TO DROP IN DEMAND

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 27 Oct 83 p 21 M

[Article by Trevor Walker]

[Text] The decline in demand for liquid iron and liquid steel forced the closure of six Iscor blast furnaces, four of them permanently, in the year ended on June 30.

As a result of the closures, and the generally slack demand, production of liquid iron declined by

27,4 percent to 4,7 million tons.

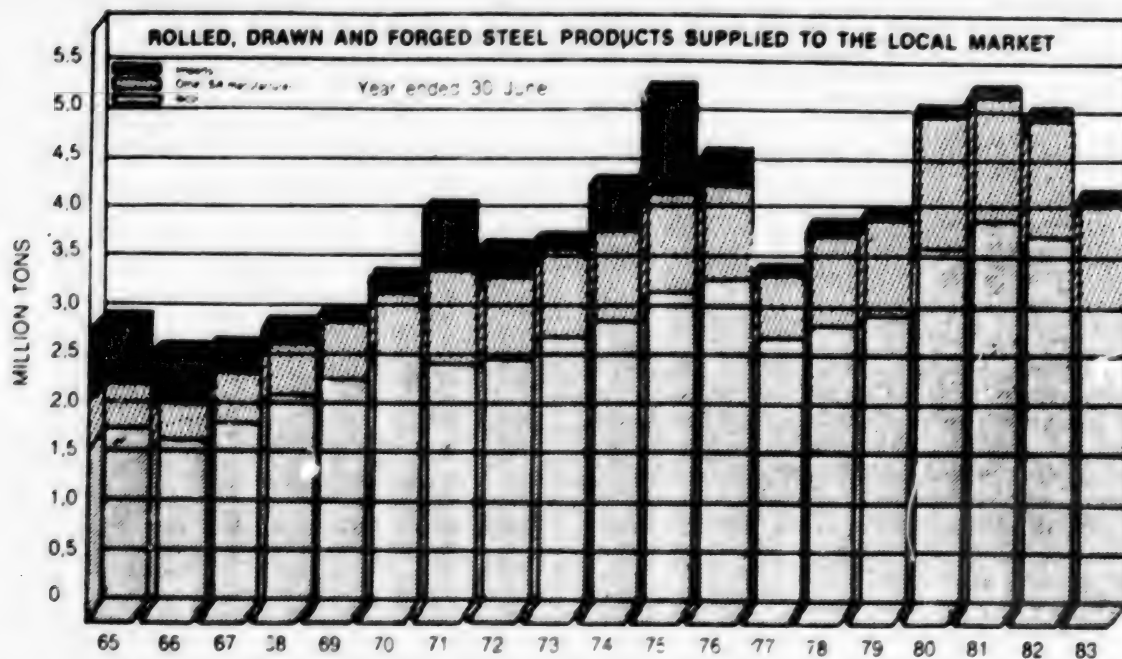
Liquid steel output was 21,5 percent down at 5,6 million tons.

The permanent shut-downs took place at Newcastle and Pretoria, and the two Vanderbijlpark furnaces were taken off stream for reconditioning

and modernisation.

Productivity measures improved coke consumption for every ton of liquid iron by an average 3,8 percent.

Other steps taken increased the average through-yield of liquid steel to finished product marginally at Pretoria,



Iscor's steel output remains solid, despite cut-backs.

and by two percent at Vanderbijlpark.

At Newcastle the average fell by 1.2 percent, mainly due to unfavourable mill-loading and more stringent customer requirements.

The drought caused problems, particularly at the Newcastle works. Although Iscor's general water consumption is considered favourably against other international steel producers, further cutbacks were necessary.

At Newcastle the plant received 30 percent of normal requirements from the Chelmsford dam.

As a result it had to make up as much of the shortfall as possible from municipal effluent and the 50-odd boreholes sunk in the neighbouring vicinity.

CSO: 3400/200

AYCO CALLS FOR BOYCOTT OF ALEXANDRA CELEBRATIONS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 27 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by Sam Mabe]

[Text]

**THE Alexandra Youth Congress (Ayco) has called for the boycott of celebrations to commemorate the 70th anniversary of Alexandra township scheduled to be held at Alexandra Stadium on Saturday.**

A spokesman for Ayco said the main reason for the call was because the celebrations would be coinciding with what he called a more important event, the People's Weekend, which would be observed by opponents of the new constitution.

The observation of the People's Weekend would be marked by the holding of night vigils at various parts of the country where politicians, students, community leaders and

church people would express their opposition to the constitution on the eve of the November 2 referendum voting.

The Ayco spokesman said the Alexandra Liaison Committee, which is hosting the celebrations, had been asked to postpone the celebrations but the request was turned down on the grounds that preparations had been made since last year and that it was too late to change the date.

The spokesman said the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) was working in collaboration with Ayco in attempting to dissuade Alexandra residents from participating in the celebrations.

"We do not believe that there is anything

worth celebrating for in Alexandra where people are living under squalid conditions. Some people live in old buses and there are families which have been removed from their homes and dumped in a derelict TB centre across the Jukskei River.

"We see the whole idea of the celebrations as a way of conning people into voting members of the Liaison Committee in the forthcoming Community Council elections.

"How disgraceful is it for these people to have spent the whole year preparing to celebrate when they were expected to have been doing something more constructive in developing the area," said the spokesman.

CSO: 3400/200

INDIANS SHOULD GIVE REFORM A TRY, SAYS RAJBANSI

Port Elizabeth WEEKEND POST in English 22 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by Johann Potgieter]

[Text]

IF Whites vote "Yes" on November 2 Mr Amichand Rajbansi of the South African Indian Council will recommend to the Indian community that it should "give the new constitution a fair trial".

His statement today is the most direct indication he has given for months of his personal stance on the matter, and clears up the question of whether the SAIC will participate in the Government's proposed scheme or not.

In an interview, Mr Rajbansi said he would not elaborate on his reasons for this stance until after the referendum, since to do otherwise would be to intervene in "this white-man's referendum".

"But my message to whites is that if they were to say yes... then I would recommend to my party that we should give the new constitution a fair trial".

Observers have long speculated that Mr Rajbansi was under pressure both from conservatives in the SAIC wanting him to come out in open support of the Government's scheme, and from others who oppose it.

Kwazulu's Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has reportedly informed Mr Rajbansi of his objection to Indian participation.

The fact that Chief Buthelezi has now somewhat softened his public stance on the likely consequences of a "Yes" vote, and Mr Rajbansi's promised "fair trial" for the system suggest vigorous behind-the-scenes lobbying in recent weeks.

It is likely that Chief Buthelezi will refer to the matter when he addresses business and professional leaders in Port Elizabeth on Thursday.

CSO: 3400/201

WRAB POLICE DESTROY SHACKS IN BEKKERSDAL

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 27 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by Sello Rabothata]

[Text]

**MORE than 200 shacks were demolished and an undisclosed number of shack-dwellers arrested in a dawn swoop conducted by West Rand Administration Board (Wrab) policeman, assisted by camouflaged police in Bekkersdal yesterday.**

The demolition of the shacks, which was the biggest of its kind carried out by Wrab in a single day, brought anger and panic to local residents as armed policemen escorted the bulldozer on its path of destruction. The whole operation, according to witnesses, was started as early as 2 am.

At about 9.30 am the whole shack village, known to locals as Dindela, looked as if a hurricane had gone through it. Corrugated iron, poles, clothes, furniture and assorted belongings were strewn across the area. Hundreds of local residents were also gathered in the area, some helping to gather furniture and other belongings for safe-keeping.

Residents said some of the arrested shack-dwellers had lost belongings to thieves. Television

sets, portable radios and other items were said to have been stolen in the dawn confusion. Others said they picked up bank books and identification documents belonging to the shack-dwellers. Those who had been to the police station to inquire about their relatives said they were told to pay R90 for their release.

While residents were gathered around the Dindela shack village, a "do-it-yourself" type of demolition was taking place in another section where shack-dwellers were told to get rid of their structures before the bulldozer did it for them. The shack-dwellers said Wrab police told them through loud-hailers to demolish the shacks while a bulldozer was on standby to "help" those who resisted.

The SOWETAN could yesterday not get a comment from Wrab. The director of housing for Wrab, Mr Steve Burger, was said to be in a meeting. His secretary told us to hold on and after a while told us to contact Mr Louis Mouton, the chief executive officer for Kagiso and Bekkersdal. Mr Mouton said he had no comment on the matter.

Mr Daniel Sedumedi, a member of the local community council, yesterday said the council would hold a special meeting at the administration offices today.



'SA MOVING TOWARDS COMPROMISE POLITICS,' SAYS DR S V D MERWE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 Nov 83 p 9

[Text]

**MUNICH** —There was a growing awareness that a South African National State was untenable but that separation should be modified in favour of negotiation politics, the vice-chairman of the President's Council, Dr Schalk van der Merwe, said yesterday.

Speaking at the Fourth International Symposium on Policy and Strategy in Munich, West Germany, Dr Van der Merwe said that in essence the evolution of political policy was present among the majority of South Africans and was waiting to materialise in the course of the next decade.

"The Afrikaner rejects the idea of a unitary state despite pressure from Western powers, Black leaders and the Opposition in South Africa.

"The Afrikaner fears, and not without some justification, that this could

lead to the elimination in many fields of himself, fellow Whites and other minority groups like the Coloureds and Asians.

#### Not unfound

"The imbalance of numbers would work against the minority groups and South Africa is a country of minorities.

"Moderate Black leaders have the same fears, as in a takeover of political power by Blacks, solidarity would disappear and be replaced by domination of one Black group over all the other groups.

"This is why White South Africans are now moving towards the politics of compromise."

Dr Van der Merwe said the course of the evolution — embodied in the new constitution — was irreversible, not only because of outside pressure, but particularly as a result

of the evolution of attitudinal change among Afrikaners.

The condition for making a success of compromise politics was that, if the Afrikaner hoped to succeed with ethnicity as a political classification, they would have to abolish many aspects of ethnicity as an enforceable social arrangement.

#### Social

"This evolution is not only a compromise for survival, but an evolution to face up to the true and realistic facts.

"Probably the most outstanding and pressing reality in South Africa is the population statistics of the various groups in the country.

"It is a reality which demands a system which will be based on self-determination on the one hand and on co-determination and joint responsibility on the other," he said.

CSO: 3400/200

VIOLENCE AT UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND DEPLORED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 1 Nov 83 p 4

[Editorial: "Tragic Situation"]

[Text]

**THE SITUATION** at the University of Zululand yesterday was chaotic and made worse by the number of panic-stricken parents who wished to know the fate of their children. Reports from the university were frightening, and those children who eventually phoned through to their parents said the place was deserted.

The students also said that the authorities, and in particular the rector of the university, was not on campus.

We believe it is important that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi brings the situation back to normal, not by addressing the students as it is reported he intends to do, but by having an independent inquiry urgently set up. Those parents who were informed by their children that Chief Buthelezi may address them on Wednesday, say they believed this would be like fuelling an already explosive situation with oil.

Parents must demand an immediate and impartial inquiry into the situation at Ngoye. The brutal truth is that too many people in high places in Natal are under the direct or indirect sway of Inkatha. Many of them would, it seems, be controlled either by their loyalty to the organisation, or through fear.

It seems to us that it had to take a tragic situation such as this to show the formidable hold Inkatha has on

people in Zululand. So the call for an inquiry should be specific in demand for neutral arbitrators from outside the area. Otherwise the situation will never revert to normal. In the meantime what does this mean to the future of the university itself?

History shows that the beginning of tyranny is the direct and indirect influence that political organisations have on the running of universities. We are afraid this is the kind of picture that is being painted about most so-called homeland universities — something that bodes ill for the future of this country.

The situation at Ngoye is both abominable and chaotic. We do not have words strong enough to express our abhorrence at the deaths of students, some of them far from their homes. The fact that the university has the responsibility of those students as its first priority seems to escape the authorities. Finally Zululand itself will be held accountable for the future of these students.

Difficult as it would seem for police to work effectively where they also seem to side with Inkatha, we are afraid parents should think of other ways of solving the problem. What comes immediately to mind as an option would be for parents to remove their children from Ngoye but that is not solving the problem.

**For all the high faluting views that Inkatha has, this university is as much part of the university of all the people of South Africa, as it belongs to Zululand.**

**. The last option we would suggest is a legal one. Parents should seek legal advice and redress against the organisation itself. In fact, it is imperative that those parents whose children have been injured or killed, should take immediate legal steps, if only to partially redress their loss.**

CSO: 3400/200

# INKATHA'S ATTACK ON ZULULAND STUDENTS DENOUNCED

Johannesburg THE SOWETAN in English 4 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Sam Mabe]

[Text]

**INKATHA's attack on students at the University of Zululand will always be remembered in the same way the world remembers Adolf Hitler and the way Africa remembers General Idi Amin.**

This was one of the messages of anger expressed at Khotso House in Johannesburg yesterday, where over 300 people gathered to pay tribute to the five students killed and several others injured during the weekend violence at the university.

Mr Muntu Myeza, general secretary of Azapo, who described Chief Gatsha Buthelezi as the Frankenstein of Pretoria, said the weekend's violence had only served to demonstrate the need for black solidarity and unity against forces of division such as

Inkatha.

He said that if the government had not created bantustan governments, there would be no Gatshas, Sebes and Matanzimas in this country. He said people seen dressed in Inkatha uniform would in future be pointed out as responsible for what he called the brutal murder of innocent and defenceless students.

## SERVICE

The service was organised by the United Democratic Front (UDF) in conjunction with Azaso and it was the first time since its formation that the UDF has shared the platform with Azapo.

The Rev Frank Chikane said the struggle in this country was intensifying so much that

Chief Buthelezi was even forced to show his true colours that he was part of the country's oppressive machinery.

He said that for Inkatha to achieve its ambition of ruling South Africa, it would have to start killing the oppressed people and not the oppressor. He said the church would find it difficult to reconcile warring factions if such factions meant to bring together evil and justice.

In a message sent by the Anti-Community Council Committee, regret was expressed that the name of a great Zulu warrior, King Cetshwayo, had to be dragged through the mud by Chief Buthelezi, who should have heeded the students' call not to hold the rally on the campus.

## Students Tell of Impi Attack

**STUDENTS at the University of Zululand told The SOWETAN yesterday how they were trapped in their hostel rooms when Inkatha im-**

**pi attacked them in the early hours of the morning while some were still asleep.**

**They also told how their desperate at-**

tempts, including an urgent Supreme Court interdict, failed to stop Chief Gatsha Buthelezi from visiting their university.

The students, some of whom said they would prefer not to be named for fear of reprisals, accused one lecturer, who they said was a senior member of Inkatha, of having directed the impis to the hostel rooms they were to attack.

Mr T M (22) said the students started panicking three weeks ago when they learnt that Chief Buthelezi would be visiting their university. The rally he was to address was organised by a history lecturer together with a handful of students who supported Inkatha.

On Friday they had boycotted lectures and staged a peaceful demonstration because they had fears that the coming of Chief Buthelezi to their campus would result in an outbreak of violence.

"Earlier this year he visited the Durban-Westville campus and students were beaten up by Inkatha's impis and we knew this would happen at our university as

well because Inkatha is unpopular there," Mr T M said.

Mr C M (20), said he woke up when he heard noises from other rooms where doors were being broken down with axes. He immediately jumped to his door and locked it, but the door was broken down and a man armed with a spear and a knobkerrie entered and attacked him.

"He hit me on the arm which sustained two fractures and I jumped out of the window from the third floor of the building. When I landed on the ground, another mob attacked me with sticks. I was lucky to have hidden my head from those vicious blows which killed some of my mates," he said.

He also had to have his knee operated on because of a ligament broken when he landed on the ground.

Mr S S (21) said he had just arrived at the campus from a nearby township when he saw a group of Inkatha members singing Chief Buthelezi's praises while a group of students were also singing songs condemning him.



CLASSIFICATION OF 'COLOREDS' CONSIDERED AS CONFUSING

Bloemfontein DIE VOLKSBLAD in Afrikaans 3 Oct 83 p 8

[Letters from Our Readers Column]

[Text] A. J. de Klerk of Sunnstraat 31, Universitas, Bloemfontein, writes as follows:

In view of the daily accounts on the draft-constitution I and thousands of other people, who feel unhappy in this matter, would appreciate it if Minister Chris Heunis [Constitutional Development] would, as soon as possible, shed some clarity for us on the following points with respect to the coloreds.

As far as I can perceive the following people are classified as coloreds:

1. The Cape coloreds
2. Malays
3. Other coloreds who no doubt fall under group 1
4. Griekwas
5. Hottentots
6. Bushmen
7. Basters of Rehobot

I do not have any problems with respect to (1), (2) and (3). With respect to (4) the Griekwas as a result of intermarriages over the many past years there has been so much interbreeding that very few of the pure Griekwa people remain. So now I would like to know: What about the Griekwa man or woman who has married a black, and there are many of them, and what about their children.

How are they classified? Who owns the hodman's lands and who resides there?

I would like to treat (5) Hottentots and (6) Bushmen together. Am I correct in assuming that they are classified as "coloreds"? Their numbers have dwindled a great deal, but many of those who still remain have married and are living in black residential areas. Where would they be placed under the new order of things?

## Pure

Do we perhaps have statistics showing how many Bushmen are still living in Bushmenland and how many of them are still of a pure race?

As far as (7) the Basters of Rehobot are concerned the greater majority of this group live in South-West Africa and are no longer of interest to us. However, I am of the opinion that some of them do live within the Republic of South Africa and now they must be taken into account.

Because up to now no references have yet been made to groups (4) to (7) in either reports or statements, and as far as I am concerned there is a great deal of confusion, I would be glad if the minister would explain this in short order.

## Problem

Still another matter which annoys me is the fact that by virtue of the Group Areas Act colored representatives of the Colored Chamber and their ministers and deputy ministers (it is certain that there will be some of them) are not going to be allowed to reside among whites in white residential areas. If my interpretation is correct that is fine...but now to my problem:

Here in Bloemfontein black representatives of the national states reside among whites in white residential areas. Is it not then the government's policy to abandon discriminating measures? Now, after having been a member of the Nationalist Party for more than 40 years I have to face the fact that black representatives from outside the limits of our fatherland are receiving better treatment than the ministers and representatives of the Colored Chamber.

## Spelled Out

If the Group Areas Act is not going to be abolished then it certainly must be made to apply to everybody. But if this legislation is going to be revised it must be spelled out clearly so that we may know where we stand before 2 November 1983.

7964

CSO: 3401/12

COLORED SOLDIERS EXEMPLIFY DISCRIMINATION INJUSTICE

Bloemfontein DIE VOLKSBLAD in Afrikaans 4 Oct 83 p 12

[Editorial: "Colored Frontier Defenders"]

[Text] Two soldiers, young men in the flower of their youth, subjected to the same circumstances: danger, deprivation, heat, dust, far away from their loved ones. Two defenders of the country's frontiers, two fighters against terrorism. Two soldiers like many others along with them.

One of them is a white conscript and the other a colored volunteer, a member of the South African Cape Corps. One is a man with voting rights, full citizenship and privileges secured by his white skin; the other is a man without these rights and privileges.

Unfortunately sometimes the white conscript lacks the so very necessary motivation and he finds himself at the frontier for lack of a chance to avoid the situation. As a citizen he must register and report for military duty.

The colored volunteer has strong motivation. He is in uniform and at the frontier by his own choice. He is ready to die for his country even as a "second class" citizen. He also loves his country where he cannot yet vote. This is the only country he has and he is at the frontier to help combat the forces of communism and the enemies of South Africa.

The unjust situation is that certain people in South Africa are not granting full citizenship, voting rights and the right of say to these volunteers who have earned the reputation as some of the most aggressive soldiers, sometimes fighting for South Africa along their white comrades at the proverbial first line of defense.

If they can pull a trigger to kill a terrorist in the name of South Africa, they can also mark an "X" in a South African ballot.

7964

CSO: 3401/12

# ROLE OF MARINE ENGINEERING DISCUSSED

Port Elizabeth EVENING POST in English 21 Oct 83 p 8

[Text]

IT is now obvious that as well as keeping the Cunard line's ferry, England, in regular operation on the service — the first ever — between the Cape and Falkland Islands for the next two years, South African marine engineering expertise must also do something about the 26 445m<sup>3</sup> (9 339-ton) Merchant Providence which the British Government dispatched from Avonmouth with a load of building materials, but broke down in the first week.

The freighter made it to Las Palmas where it awaits spares from Britain for the diesel engine.

Logistics had determined that the Merchant Providence should deliver its cargo to Port Stanley ahead of the arrival of 120 workmen travelling in the England. But the delay of the building materials will necessitate rescheduling the England.

The arrangement is that after delivering her cargo, the England crosses to the Cape to embark engineering staff committed to modifying the liner's interior to make her comply with British requirements.

There is no doubt that the multi-million-rand airfield contract on the Falklands is to provide considerable

business for the Republic.

More than 9 000 Britons have applied for work on the island, but only about 1 400 are acceptable in terms of the contract.

But the fact the men must work a six-day, 60-hour week has raised the ire of unions in Britain. The workers are assured of an annual income of about R17 000 while working on the R400-million airport contract.

Dockers at Bristol, the base in Britain for the operation, are involved in the dispute about pay of the island workers.

Meanwhile in South Africa the major engineering organisations are anxious to secure the maintenance contract for the ships.

The Tyneside engineering firm of Swan, Hunter regards its association with Dorman Long at the Cape as one of its best connections, since the parent yards at Newcastle-on-Tyne are having labour tribulations following a loss last year of more than R60 million.

The head office in Tyneside can be certain to be assuring Cunard Line of the splendid facilities in South Africa for servicing the England, and other ships on the ferry to Port Stanley.

POLICE STAFF SHORTAGE OVERCOME; FULL STRENGTH REACHED

Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 21 Oct 83 p 4

[Text]

CAPE TOWN: The South African Police has almost caught up with a staff shortage of more than 6 000 people in the last year, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said today.

Speaking at the opening of the new multi-million rand police station at Mitchell's Plain in the Cape, Mr le Grange said there were now no further vacancies in the SAP.

"Young people are applying in large numbers," he said.

"As a result of the salary structure and other benefits we have now reached a position where our strength allocation is almost full."

In future anyone who applied to join the police would be required to have a matric qualification.

He said the salaries of Coloured, Indian and white policemen were now almost equal up to the rank of major. From the rank of lieutenant-colonel upwards there

was now absolute parity.

Since 1979 the salaries of Coloured and Indian policemen with matric had been increased by between 78 and 118 percent. This did not include the 12 percent increase announced recently which would come into effect in January.

He announced the first promotion of Coloured and Indian policemen to the rank of full colonel.

From November 1 Lieutenant-Colonel W.E. Carstens, station commander at Paarl East, and Lieutenant-Colonel M. Chetty, the officer commanding the training college for Indian policemen in Durban, would become full colonels.

Mr le Grange said the facilities at the Bishop Lavis training centre for Coloured policemen had been expanded to provide for the training of 300 policemen at one time. Previously the centre could serve 198 trainees.



# HAYWARD CLAIMS WATER FROM NATAL AVERTED POWER CRISIS

Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 20 Oct 83 pp 3, 5

[Text]

**MOOI RIVER:** The country's electricity supply would have come to a standstill by the end of October if Natal's water had not been pumped up to the Transvaal, the Minister of Environmental Affairs, Mr Sarel Hayward, said last night.

He said Natalians should not be angry that they had been forced to tighten their belts and save water while the Province's water supplies were being diverted from the Tugela River to the Transvaal.

"If it had not been for that water, and letting it out into the Vaal, the country would have come to a standstill," he said.

He said the Grootdraai Dam, which supplied water to the electric power generators in the Highveld and Eastern Transvaal, would have been empty by now because of the drought.

"If it were not for the fact that we pumped water from Natal, the electricity supply of this country would have come to a total stand-

still by the end of this month," he said.

"Natalians should be grateful that they are able to use electricity generated in the Highveld. It has been an exchange—water for electricity," he said.

Mr Hayward said he had great plans for Natal, concerning the Tugela River, which he could not disclose at this stage.

He said the Mooi River scheme was on the way to success, and he assured farmers who held riparian rights to the river water that they would not experience any hardship.

It would not have been feasible to have taken any preventative action for this year's drought crisis, he said.

"It is impossible to plan for a 200-year drought. The capital costs would have been so high that the country could not carry them. And in a normal year it would not have been necessary.

"All we need in a time of crisis are cool heads," he said.

## Angry Reaction to Hayward's Claims on Water

**THERE** was an angry response today to Mr Sarel Hayward's claim last night that Natal should not be upset about its water being diverted from the Tugela River to the Transvaal; rather, people should be grateful for the electricity received in return.

The Minister of Environmental Affairs said that "if it were not for the fact that we pumped water from Natal, the electricity supply of this country would have come to a total standstill by the end of this month.

"Natal should be grateful that they are able to use electricity generated in the Highveld. It has been an exchange, water for electricity," he said.

But Mr Graham McIntosh, Progressive Federal Party MP for Pietermaritzburg North, replied that to give Natalians a lecture on the need to be grateful for electricity generated elsewhere was not worthy of a Minister of State.

"Balancing regional and national interests is a sensitive and problematical issue, and remarks like Mr Hayward's do nothing to resolve the problem," he said.

"Natal already provides much of the coal for export and consumption at home. It has most of the water, it has the major port in Africa and it provides cheap black family housing and holiday homes for the hundreds of thousands of workers the Vaal triangle employs.

"Mr Hayward should appreciate that if it wasn't for his Government's racial policies,

the whole of South Africa could be on one electric grid.

"Mr Hayward, if he had national interests at heart, would develop the hydro-electric potential of Natal even more, and were it not for the Government's neglect in black areas, we also could have additional thermal stations in Natal.

"In a time of water shortage it doesn't help to scold people, but rather to balance rationally and justly the regional needs against the national needs."

Mr McIntosh added: "Mr Hayward can be sure that Natalians will

which drains us dry while the Vaal triangle are still watering their gardens."

Mr R. Haslam, MEC, disagreed.

"We have a national responsibility, especially in times of emergency," he said.

"There is no way, at the present time, of diverting water from the Tugela to dams supplying the Durban and Pietermaritzburg areas, so why not allow the Transvaal to have it?

"We should not adopt a 'dog in the manger' attitude.

"I agree that we should be grateful for the electricity that we get from the Transvaal. Without it our industry would come to a halt, and that would be disastrous.

"As for the Transvaalers watering their lawns while we save water, when their dams reach the same level as ours I am sure that they too will be on strict rationing."

DESPITE RAINS ON JOHANNESBURG WATER CONTROLS REMAIN IN EFFECT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 2 Nov 83 p 12

[Text]

**WATER** consumers should not regard the rain that has fallen in Johannesburg over the past few weeks as sufficient to relieve the current water crisis, the Director, Technical Services, of the Johannesburg City Council, Dr J G Mortimer, said yesterday.

"Johannesburg citizens should realise that only plentiful rains in the catchment area of the Vaal Dam will increase the level sufficiently to relieve the current crisis situation," he said.

"Accordingly they should still aim at a reduction of at least 30 percent in water consumption over the same period last year."

He added that recent rains might have created a false impression among consumers that a water crisis had been averted.

However, although it might have brought some relief to gardeners in the Johannesburg and Reef areas, it had not affected the supply situation in Johannesburg at all.

He said water still had to be conserved at all costs or the city might find itself in the position of introducing mandatory rationing next year.

He said consumers should note that spot fines for contravening the current water restrictions had been increased and were now as follows: Domestic users R50, all others R75.

Dr Mortimer said water users in the city's main industrial townships had shown a reduction of 18 percent in June this year compared with June 1982. This reduction increased to 26 percent in August compared with the same period last year.

Dr Mortimer said Johannesburg's industrial and commercial undertakings consumed only some 25 percent of the city's water, and for this reason domestic consumers, especially flat dwellers, should endeavour to decrease water consumption even further in order to achieve the target set by the Rand Water Board to prevent compulsory water and even electricity rationing.

Figures released by the Rand Water Board show

that consumers in the Board's area have saved since March this year more water than the Board's target.

Figures released by the RWB show that the accumulated water savings target since March 7 was exceeded by 1 500 megalitres. The target was a saving of 110 200 megalitres — the actual saving was 111 700.

However, last week's saving was down 1,7 percent on a target of 33 percent and actual water used was 11 775 megalitres against a target usage of only 11 500 — 225 megalitres over the top.

CSO: 3400/200

CAPE NGK OPENS DOORS TO WORSHIPERS OF ALL RACES

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 1 Nov 83 p 4

[Article by Brian Stuart]

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. — The Ned Geref Kerk in the Western Cape has formally opened its doors at all services to people of all races.

Apart from pockets of resistance from congregations in some northern areas and a few country districts, many congregations have been open for the past few years. But yesterday, the welcome was extended with the full backing of the NGK Western Cape Synod.

"We declare anew that we are an open church, both in regard to religious services and in church membership," the Synod said in a pastoral letter which is being distributed to all congregations.

Significantly, yesterday was observed throughout the Reformed Church world as Reformation Sunday.

The moderation of the Western Cape NGK Synod also asked congregations to observe it as a day of prayer and humility on the eve of Wednesday's referendum.

In an editorial in Die

Kerkbode, official organ of the NGK, the Rev Tappies Moller, moderator of the Western Cape Synod, said that, in observing Sunday as a day of prayer for the referendum, the NGK did not prescribe how people should vote. But the NGK had laid down certain principles among them:

- The Christian must continue to strive for his political thoughts and actions to be directed at justice.

- The instruction to love your neighbour is the decisive norm in the exercise of all social justice. This command to love your neighbour must always be implemented in concrete form in every specific political, economic and social situation.

The formal opening of NGK church doors to all on Sunday apparently brought no problems and, in some churches, resulted in increased attendance by Coloured Christians. This however, could have been part of the expected Reformation Sunday attendance.



## PROFESSOR HOUGH REPORTS ON W. GERMAN CONFERENCE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 2 Nov 83 p 13

[Text]

The word "destabilisation" is rapidly replacing "apartheid" as the launching pad for world enmity and action against South Africa, according to Prof Mike Hough, director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at Pretoria University.

Prof Hough has returned to Pretoria mentally bruised and battered after a constant verbal onslaught, but unbeaten while attending on invitation a West German conference on Angola.

He was the only South African at the conference, which was held by The Friedrich Ebert Foundation, a private institution linked strongly to the West German Socialist Party.

The invitation to Prof Hough is seen by strategists in South Africa as something of a feather in Prof Hough's hat — and that of South Africa.

In an interview yesterday afternoon Prof Hough said that he had

found himself facing broadside after broadside of criticism, but fought back — and found in the evenings, outside the conference no personal hostility from any of the other delegates.

"Emphasis in the discussion was mainly on Southern Africa in the regional context but criticisms that did come to light were the traditional, sawn-off old ones of claims that South Africa is the aggressor, is planning to besiege Luanda and so on."

"There was considerable emphasis too on 'destabilisation' claims against South Africa, and it is becoming ever clearer that this word is replacing 'apartheid' as the launching pad of sorties against the Republic" said Prof Hough.

There was some interest in the referendum — but almost generally feelings of other delegates were that it was "window

dressing", "cosmetic" and "a red herring" or "stop-gapping".

"More generally talk on South Africa was on along the lines of Black power on the way" he said.

However, the emphasis of "destabilisation" instead of "apartheid" tended to indicate, he believed, that critics of the country were tacitly accepting that reform was moving forward in the country.

"Apartheid" against this backdrop no longer had the emotive and rabble-raising power that it once had — hence the switch to wider accusations of "destabilisation".

On the subject of the conference itself — Angola — he said there appeared to be little hope for future political accommodation there for Unita.

The Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, was generally regarded as a "traitor" said Prof Hough.

SECURITY FIRM OFFICIAL BEATS INDUSTRIAL ESPIONAGE CHARGE

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 27 Oct 83 p 2

[Article by Chris Olckers]

[Text]

THE managing director of South Africa's biggest security company has been exonerated of unprofessional conduct by three top professional security organisations following claims of industrial espionage.

And following his exoneration, Mr Macfarlane was unanimously reaffirmed as senior vice-president of the Security Association of South Africa.

Mr Roy Macfarlane of Fidelity Guards was summoned to three disciplinary hearings and had to give evidence under oath.

Fidelity Guards was also cleared of misconduct. The charges related to a Supreme Court hearing in which his firm had allegedly spied on a rival.

Meanwhile, the police have

revealed the man whose affidavit led to the Supreme Court hearing. Mr Thomas Allen, had disappeared and is wanted by Vereeniging detectives on charges of theft, fraud and uttering. A warrant for his arrest has been issued.

The three professional bodies in the security industry, the Security Association of South Africa, the Transvaal Employers' Association of Security Services, and the South African Institute of Security, each unanimously cleared FG and Mr Macfarlane of charges of unethical conduct.

The charges arose out of newspaper reports relating to a court interdict obtained by Coin Security.

Yesterday Mr Macfarlane said he was relieved and pleased that he had been cleared by the country's top professional security bodies.

CSO: 3400/201

ALTECH STRESSES RESEARCH, COMPUTERIZED SYSTEMS, FIBER OPTICS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 27 Oct 83 p 19M

[Article by Peter Farley]

[Text]

Altech may be on the acquisition trail, but chief executive Mr Bill Venter is equally concerned about internal development. A business as dependent on new ideas as communications cannot afford to wait to be given finished products.

As a result the Altech group is ploughing about five percent of turnover into research and development. With the new enlarged operation this means that more than R25 million will be spent in this area this year.

LICENCES

This figure is before taking into account the licensing fees Altech pays to the multi-national high-technology companies for product design work, which amounts to almost another R5 million at present.

He says there will never be enough spent on this side of the operation. Within five to seven years he expects the group to be spending 10 percent of sales on R & D.

By then this figure could total R100 million a year.

Already Altech has designed a multi-user single line telephone exchange system, which, apart from having many SA applications, is attracting tremendous international interest.

Another example of local research has been Altech's computerised traffic control systems, which enable one person to co-ordinate traffic lights throughout a major city to suit the particular needs of varying traffic flows.

Despite the amount of money being put back into the business, Mr Venter accepts that Altech always will need links with the major international high-tech companies.

The work Altech is putting in on fibre optics is a case in point. Although an area that is still in its infancy in SA, major strides have been made overseas. It would be ridiculous for any SA company to try to go it alone.

## BRIEFS

**COAL SALES UP--**A REVERSAL of a provision of R4,3-million in the previous quarter was mainly responsible for the slight drop in the profit of Trans-Natal for the quarter ended September 1983. Tonage sold during the quarter amounted to 6,818-million compared with 6,424-million the previous quarter. Net income before amortisation and taxation was down at R28,1-million compared with R32,4-million the previous quarter. Amortisation was virtually unchanged at R3-million (R3,1-million) while taxation dropped from R13,7-million to R11,7-million. Outside shareholders' interest amounted to R1,6-million (R1,2-million) which left the company with a net profit attributable to ordinary shareholders of R11,7-million against R13-million. Capital expenditure for the quarter was substantially down at R15,4-million (R29,1-million). The directors point out that the several court actions instituted against the company to set aside certain option contracts which it holds over land in the Northern Transvaal, including the Settlers area, have all been withdrawn except in respect of two farms. Mineral rights on the above are too small to establish any future mining project. All the other options have been exercised. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 3 Nov 83 p 29]

**VICTORY FOR NUM--**THE National Union of Mineworkers' (NUM) strength is growing rapidly with the union signing another major recognition agreement in the coal mining industry. The union has signed a recognition agreement with the Colliers Committee of the Chamber of Mines for the Van Dyk's Drift coal mine near Witbank. This is the eleventh agreement of its kind. The union's general secretary, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said the agreement was another "major breakthrough for the union's strength in this industry." The union was expected to conclude several other recognition agreements within the mining industry. The recent recognition agreement at Van Dyk which is part of the Rand Mines group and employs over 1 800 black workers, will be leased to represent workers' aspirations. The union has continued to make progress by organising workers in the industry. The union successfully averged a strike at the Rand Refinery in Germiston where about 250 workers had voted for a strike over wage demands. Mr Ramaphosa said the union was also waiting to hear from the Industrial Court about a trial date for its dispute with Gold Fields' West Driefontein mine. [Joshua Raboroko] [Text] [Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 2 Nov 83 p 5]

**BOMB BLAST RESPONSIBILITY--**No one has claimed responsibility for the explosion Wednesday night that damaged the railway line near Bosmont Station, on the West Rand, the Deputy Commissioner of the SA Railways Police, Major-General

C M Robbertze said yesterday. It has been impossible to determine the components of the bomb, as all remnants of the bomb have dispersed," Gen Robbertze said. Commenting on the effect of the blast, he said: "It caused limited damage and no injuries or deaths. Still, we consider any sabotage, however unsuccessful, in a very serious light." Reports last night said windows of houses near the railway line were broken and roofs were showered with rubble. A spokesman for the South African Transport Services said one railway line had been partly damaged. Two of the three lines which carry suburban traffic to the West Rand and main line trains to Kimberley and Cape Town were re-opened this morning. The explosion occurred four minutes before a passenger train to Randfontein travelled along the railway line. Gen Robbertze said yesterday investigations were continuing into the cause of the blast. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 Nov 83 p 9]

DECIDUOUS FRUIT EARNINGS--MORE than a million tons of deciduous fruit was produced in South Africa during the 1981/82 season, the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Greyling Wentzel, said yesterday. Speaking at a Farmers' Day gathering at Bien Donne near Stellenbosch, Mr Wentzel said total producer earnings during that year amounted to almost R272-million and the industry earned some R514-million in foreign exchange. Capital investment by deciduous fruit producers at present amounted to between R600-million and R700-million. The Minister added that the fact that South Africa was one of the few remaining net food exporters in the world was due largely to its exports of deciduous fruit. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 Nov 83 p 12]

INFOGOLD GETS R3M IBM--INFOGOLD, the information service of Anglo American's gold and uranium division, is to take delivery of a R3,3m IBM 3083 computer in December. The machine will be located in Welkom along with an IBM 3081 and an IBM 3033. Mr Joe Wapenaar, the Infogold facilities manager, says: "We evaluated alternatives such as the Hitachi machine from Persetel, but it was felt that support for conversion to the MVS/XA control would not be available before mid-1984 and IBM support would be essential during the conversion to XA." Infogold is already suffering from constraints in core storage and in channel tuning. With the installation of this machine, Infogold will have a three-domain VTAM network servicing approximately 800 terminals through the OFS and Transvaal. [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 28 Oct 83 p 20]

STAKE IN HIGH-TECH--High-tech in South Africa? Past experience tells us it will be concentrated on the reef but this need not necessarily be so. East London already has a big stake in high-tech with TEK Electronics, which hopefully will grow even bigger here and might even lead to spin-off factories or ancillary industries. And is there within TEK an embryo genius just biding his time to see a gap in the market and to exploit it with his own company. Good luck to him. If he succeeds let us hope he succeeds in this neck of the woods. [Excerpt] [East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 22 Oct 83 p 3]

INSURGENCY EXERCISES--Members of AFS Snake Valley, a Northern Transvaal Commando unit and three South African Air Force helicopters have held joint counter insurgency exercises on the grounds of AFS Snake Valley. A simulated



attack on South African Defence Force personnel was staged and a combined follow-up exercise saw a terrorist hide-out destroyed. Conventional warfare tactics were used to destroy the enemies' position. Sgt C. Jenkins, security officer at AFS Snake Valley, initiated the exercise which involved three Allouette helicopters from 17 Squadron and ex-infantry men from Northern Transvaal commando unit as well as members of AFS Snake Valley. [Text] [Pretoria AD ASTRA in English Sep 83 p 2]

REGIMENT GETS TRAINING WING--THE South African Air Force Regiment, established in 1964 and principally tasked with administering Citizen Force personnel assigned to the security mustering, recently acquired its own training wing. Until July 1983 the Air Force Gymnasium, under whose command the SAAF Regiment Citizen Force Headquarters presently falls, undertook all the training responsibilities for the Regiment. Plans are afoot to establish the Regiment permanently in the arborescent North Eastern Transvaal, near AFB Hoedspruit. In the interim, however, the Suikerkop Nature Reserve adjacent to AFB Hoedspruit suffices as a training area and reverberates to the shouted commands of instructors who put protection service personnel through their paces in counter insurgency training. The growth of this unique unit is keenly monitored at Air Force Headquarters, and by 1984 it is envisaged that all counter insurgency and protection service training in the SAAF will be presented there. The desired objective of the unit, as expressed by the Acting Officer Commanding--Maj O.S. Butler, is to mould an elite and highly disciplined security personnel that can be utilised effectively by the South African Air Force. [Text] [Pretoria AD ASTRA in English Sep 83 p 3]

SAIC 'NEW DEAL' DUTY--THE Indian Council would be "dutybound" to participate in the Government's new tricameral parliament if the majority of members in the ruling National People's Party opt for participation. So says the chairman of the executive of the SAIC, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, who returned this week from a two-week tour of Germany and France. He said on his return he gained the impression that the majority of NPP members were in favour of giving the new proposals a fair trial if the whites voted 'yes' in the November 2 referendum. Mr Rajbansi said although he would abide by the majority decision, the Indian Council would make known its stand only after the November 2 referendum. "But let me make it clear our views will be expressed only if the whites vote 'yes'. "If there is a 'no' vote then the Indian Council will not have to make its views known because there won't be a need for it," he said. He was adamant that the Indian Council's call for an Indian referendum still stood. While Mr Rajbansi was away, several members of the NPP expressed eagerness to take part in the new dispensation--a pointer that the Indian Council is all set to participate in the 'new deal' which has been condemned by blacks and also a large section of Indians, coloureds, and whites, including the official opposition in Parliament. [Text] [Durban Post NATAL in English 12-15 Oct 83 p 1]

INDIAN POLITICAL SPLIT--THE Democratic Party, the minotiry group in the South African Indian Council, today hit out through its deputy leader, Mr Hassim Cassim, at Mr Frank Martin, MEC, who is reported to have said that Indians need not be scared of blacks if they went along with the constitutional proposals. Mr Cassim said that Mr Martin has got "his politics all screwed up"

and as a veteran politician should know that any constitution should also cover the economical, educational and social aspirations of all people. "Mr Martin's view that Indians are frightened of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is nonsensical and borders on the ridiculous. Right-thinking Indians see the new constitution as the raping of democracy," said Mr Cassim. He said that the new constitution was a National Party blueprint to entrench apartheid. He then disclosed, that while his party was in the minority in the Indian Council, a number of independent members shared their views and would reject participation in the new dispensation. Mr Cassim said that even if the Indian community voted in favour of the new constitution, his party would not take part. [Text] [Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 21 Oct 83 p 7]

CORMORAN SHIP REPAIRS--SANDOCK Austral's ship repair department recently completed a R300 000 repair job on the Comores government's general cargo ship, Choungui. The ship, which represents the first maritime service between the Islamic Republic of the Comores and South Africa, was badly damaged in a cyclone in the Comores earlier this year. Repairs included the replacement of 15 tons of steel, a renewed propeller shaft and steering gear, the overhauling of the main engines and generators and, in particular, the repair of the ship's fridge cargo hold no 1. Other repairs were made to the ship's cargo gear hydraulic system. The ship's derricks and cargo blocks were renewed to meet Bureau Veritas requirements. The Choungui is now berthed at Maydon Wharf 6. [Richard Compton] [Excerpt] [Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 13 Oct 83 p 27]

JAPANESE TRAIN SET--The Safmarine chartered vessel Acacia will arrive in Durban tomorrow carrying a new generation high-speed Japanese train set, including a locomotive. The offloading of the set, which is loaded on the deck and not in containers, will commence on Sunday morning. A second new generation high-speed train set is to arrive early next year from West Germany. The two train sets are to be tested and evaluated on the South African system over a period of six months. They will increase passenger capacity by 15 percent. The Japanese set will be delivered by Dorbyl Ltd to SATS in Johannesburg. [Excerpt] [Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 13 Oct 83 p 27]

REEFER SHIPS PURCHASED--Safmarine has paid R22-million for two reefer ships, Atlantic and Pacific Universal, for the South African fruit trade. They have both been built in Japan and will be delivered at the end of January. These refrigerated cargo ships have been designed around a palatized unit and will run out of Durban during the citrus season and out of Cape Town during the deciduous season. The ships will be managed by Universal Reefers. [Excerpt] [Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 13 Oct 83 p 27]

MISSILE SITE PROTEST--THE Habitat Council has once again urged that the suitability of the De Hoop site should be weighed up against alternative sites before a final decision is made as to where Armscor should test its weapons. In a report printed in the latest newsletter of the Stellenbosch-based Society for the Protection of the Environment (SPE), the council says a military presence in the area will affect every aspect of the environment. Objection to the takeover of the area is reiterated in another article printed in the same

newsletter by the President of the SPE, Professor Jan Giliomee. Professor Giliomee warned, however, that without pre-empting the outcome of the Hey Committee, the society believed Armscor would not give up easily and was likely to go ahead with its plans. He said this was based on fruitless negotiations the society had had with Armscor during which it attempted to persuade Armscor to abandon taking over part of a private nature reserve in the Wellington area for a munitions factory. [Text] [Capetown THE CAPE TIMES in English 21 Oct 83 p 5]

CSO: 3400/201

## ZANZIBARIS COUNSEL REFLECTION BEFORE FURTHER UNIFICATION

London AFRICA NOW in English No 30, Oct 83 pp 13-15, 16

[Article by Mohamed Mlamali Adam and Ahmed Rajab: "When They Pipe in Zanzibar..."]

[Text] Agreed that the United Republic has grown, prospered and become "natural and inevitable and when difficulties occur the tendency is to seek solution within the Union context." Agreed also that any further growth will only depend on a leadership that has the imagination and courage to take risks to seize opportunities as they come.

Zanzibaris, who are the minority shareholders in this essentially federal edifice, believe, however, that it will be foolhardy now to take the great leap forward towards further unification.

Their response to the proposals put forward by the ruling party's supreme body, the national executive committee, is that the Union's foundations are shallow, its pillars fragile; there is dangerous confusion in vital areas and, in any event, too much is being demanded of their faith in the good intentions of others. What they counsel, therefore, is a long moment of deep reflection before another step is taken towards "Consolidation of the Union," in NEC's felicitous phrase. Zanzibaris see it as something more sinister.

Such fears are not at all new. They have stalked the United Republic from its birth. But never before have they burst out with such vehemence nor has it been expressed by officials so highly placed. It is possibly true that the prospect of an imminent merger between unequal partners and a more liberal political climate have made people too ready to stand up and be counted. What is certain, however, is that inspired leaks have added a lot of passion to the protests.

For instance, in the past, there was no hard information about individual battles in the Uganda war. But, through deliberate disclosures, it is now known that Idi Amin's

soldiers wiped out several Zanzibaris during the Kagera crossing. Those who survived after putting up a heroic fight returned crippled but, unlike their mainland colleagues, they have received no recognition. Most of them have not received their allowances either for the Uganda campaign. Since the war ended, they have demonstrated several times in Zanzibar town demanding their dues. The military equipment bought by Tanzania for the Uganda war with substantial contributions from Zanzibar remains on the mainland.

Equally potent has been the leak about intrigues unleashed against the prominent Zanzibari diplomats by their mainland counterparts. The first one is Salim Salim, Tanzania's Foreign Minister. Two years ago he campaigned for the post of the UN secretary-general. He lost despite his impeccable credentials partly because of superpower intervention, so the leak goes, largely because a number of his own ambassadors from the mainland discredited him through a whispering campaign and by circulating an ungracious letter among Third World diplomats. Edem Kodjo, OAU former secretary-general is known to be one of the recipients.

There is also a sustained campaign to hound out of office another singularly gifted Zanzibari diplomat, Ahmed Diriya Hassan, now based in Bonn. Foreign diplomats acknowledge his outstanding achievements in Japan, his previous posting, and in West Germany where, in a matter of months only he has succeeded in carving out a powerful lobby for his country from the very coverts of conservative thinking, the Christian Social Union and the Christian Democratic Union.



It can be argued that such internecine feuding and petty jealousies are the stuff of human nature anywhere in the world, also that "pot-stirring" is not unknown among mainland diplomats themselves. But Zanzibaris do not find such arguments in any way uplifting in view of the state of affairs in Union institutions and the exclusive nature of decision-making.

For instance, nearly all Union Ministers and institutions are headed by Tanganyikans. These include Union Ministries and agencies based in Zanzibar like the office of the Vice-President as well as the Department of Posts and Telecommunications. "You might think," says Mohamed Mzale, Zanzibar's Permanent Secretary for Education, "it is a sin for a Zanzibari to head these institutions." Tanganyikans also represent Tanzania in foreign missions and international agencies and thereby promote the interests of Tanganyika rather than those of Zanzibar.

In their 11-page memo to the CCM's secretary-general, Zanzibar's Permanent Secretaries cite other instances of Tanganyika's omnipotence in decision-making. They print Tanzania currency using Union funds but Zanzibar buys this non-convertible money with its foreign reserves. Moreover, they can devalue the currency, revise import levies, re-order priorities in the islands' foreign-aided projects and name a company through which Zanzibar must order its fuel without so much as consulting Zanzibar's authorities.

Higher education is another area where Tanganyika's writ runs large. The government of the United Republic has appointed four policy-making bodies, outside the Ministry of National Education on the mainland, to administer higher education requirements.

These are the Cabinet Committee on Higher Education and Training (CCHET); the Advisory Committee on Higher Education and Training (ACHET); and the Sub-Advisory Committee on Higher Education and Training (SACHET). All these were created in 1966 and CCHET is the highest.

CCHET has nine members, all Ministers, five from the mainland and four from Zanzibar. Its chairman is the mainland Minister of National Education; its secretary his Principal Secretary. CCHET has met only five times since its formation.

ACHET, on the other hand, has eight members, seven from mainland Tanzania and one from Zanzibar. Since its establishment it is only in the 1980's that it has begun to consider applications for higher education from Zanzibar. SACHET does not, however, have a single member from Zanzibar.

In 1979 yet another committee on higher education came into being. This is the Joint Selection Committee (JOSECO), appointed to select students wishing to pursue higher education in universities and institutes at home and abroad. JOSECO has 12 members, all from the mainland.

Mzale further observes that, when students on Zanzibar's scholarship turn up at Tanzania missions abroad, they are kept a stiff arm's length away on the pretext that they are not on a United Republic's scholarship, even though in fact Zanzibar pays its share in the Union's higher education budget. His general verdict is that executive bodies of higher education are Union only in words; in deeds and in their structure, they are mainland creatures and are there to do its bidding. They will not recognise Zanzibar's interest even if they stumbled on it. Unfortunately for the United Republic, he contends such provincial views have also permeated the United Republic's Parliament, which formulates policies for the interest of the mainland, and believes that somehow the Tanzania mainland and the United Republic are Siamese twins.

Analysts who regard the United Republic as a mis-alliance focus on a number of factors: the personalities of the original founders, the relative size and population of the territories they represented and the inescapable local and global imperatives of the superpowers which, more than anything else, might have induced what in retrospect looks like a premature birth.

It is a fact that rarely have two so dissimilar leaders as President Abeid Amani Karume of Zanzibar and President Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika met on an endeavour so challenging. Nyerere is scholarly, devastatingly charming, with a penetrating mind; reluctant to use a hammer when he can serenade a problem away, and allergic to blood-letting. Karume is predatory at home with the hounds but otherwise calculating, down to earth and, contrary to his critics' folklore, supreme at statecraft. These personality differences slowed the Union's pace considerably.

Nyerere's appetite for Zanzibar goes back very far. It was certainly there before Zanzibar became independent from Britain in 1963. Months earlier, TANU, of which Nyerere was the President, approached Zanzibar's Chief Minister Shaykh Muhammed Shante Hamadi of the now defunct Zanzibar and Pemba Peoples Party to form some sort of alliance with Tanganyika. When the Sultan and the Shante government was overthrown in January 1964, Nyerere had his golden chance. He applied a lot of pressure on the new leader of Zanzibar, Shaykh Abeid Karume, to have a union between their two



countries.

*Africa Now* has seen declassified US diplomatic communications at the time the Union was inaugurated and they confirm that Nyerere's thinking coincided with that of the NATO powers, namely, that the Zanzibar uprising was a menace and it had to be stopped. William Attwood, a former US ambassador in Kenya, says in his book *The Reds and the Blacks* that it was the West which pushed East African Presidents to do their utmost to contain the Zanzibar revolution. For historical and cultural reasons, Tanganyika was nominated as the most eligible candidate for a merger with Zanzibar.

There were a number of factors that worried Nyerere: Zanzibar's proclamation of a People's Republic and the radical socio-economic reforms that it promised, and its close co-operation with the Communist bloc, especially Zanzibar's recognition of the German Democratic Republic. Zanzibar was the first African country to recognise the German Democratic Republic at a time when Federal Germany and Israel had very strong ties with Tanganyika. The prospect of a Cuba on his very doorstep did not amuse him.

First a joint mission of Tanganyikan Ministers with Kenyan officials, including the then Vice-President Oginga Odinga, went over to Zanzibar early in 1964 to talk Karume into some sort of a Federation. The presence of Odinga in the delegation was meant to reinforce the view that what was under discussion was in fact a prelude to an East African Federation, which would later involve Kenya and Uganda. Karume was made to believe that the union was designed for his own political security which was said by Tanganyika to be threatened by the Marxist-orientated Umma party, Karume's partners in the revolution. (The idea of an East African Federation had been in vogue since the late 1950's and Karume was very much for it). Kenya somehow dropped from the earlier discussions and eventually Nyerere went over to Zanzibar for a hastily arranged meeting with Karume. He had with him three options which he wanted to discuss with the Zanzibari leader;

- To dissolve both their governments and form a union
- To make a federation between the two countries but with three governments (a government for each country and a federal one)
- To abolish the Tanganyika Government and to submit Tanganyika under the sovereignty of a union government.

Nyerere discounted the first option, arguing that were they to dissolve the two governments it would give the impression abroad that Tanganyika had swallowed Zanzibar. He deemed the second option to be an expensive exercise and opted instead

for the third proposition. Hence the Articles of the Union between the Republic of Tanganyika and the Peoples Republic of Zanzibar. *Africa Now* has learned that, not only was the Zanzibari leadership not given enough time to discuss the union affair, but the matter was not even discussed in the Tanganyika Cabinet.

Shaykh Karume did not resist. He turned the package this way and that and decided he could not get a better offer: a security umbrella and freedom to do as he liked all rolled into one. Karume's subjects, on the other hand, reposed their hopes in Nyerere, the executive head of the union government, to curb his colleagues' worst excesses; but their hopes were dashed. Karume unleashed the worst reign of terror Zanzibaris have ever known. So that those who applaud some of his durable development projects also recall in the same breath that they used his name to hush up some obscure gauleiters.

Twenty years on, the pell-mell decisions of April, 1964 have come back home to roost. Zanzibaris are bitter that they were not given the chance to sit and consider the question of national reconciliation and plan their future more meaningfully after the traumatic events of January, 1964.

Not that Zanzibaris are averse to the idea of the union. They might have accepted this one had their experiences been different. They object first of all to the undemocratic and extra legal manner in which the Union was ushered in. The Articles of the Union were supposed to be ratified by the legislatures of the two states. In the event, they were not legitimised in such a manner. Ratification was only done unconstitutionally by a Tanganyika Government Notice No. 24 of May 1964. As Wolfgang Dourado, then Attorney General of Zanzibar and one of the staunch critics of the Union as it exists today, points out: "No law ratifying the Articles of the Union 1964 exists on the statute books of Zanzibar."

Furthermore, a Constituent Assembly composed of representatives from Tanganyika and from Zanzibar was to be summoned within a year of the commencement of the union for the purpose of considering proposals put forward by a commission to be appointed by the President of the United Republic in agreement with the Executive Head of Zanzibar as proposed by one of the articles of the Union. The Constituent Assembly was also to adopt the Constitution of the United Republic. As it transpired, the commission was never appointed nor did the Constituent Assembly meet. Instead, the National Assembly met and passed the Interim Constitution of 1965 in order to implement the recommendations of the Presidential Commission on the One-Party

State. As Dourado again notes: "Once again neither Tanganyikans nor Zanzibaris were given an opportunity of debating the Interim Constitution before it was adopted." The Interim Constitution was, in fact, drafted by two British legal expatriate legal advisers on the mainland and followed closely the structure of the Northern Ireland Constitution.

Of the documents circulating in Zanzibar that *Africa Now* has seen, the most critical of the Union as it stands is the one produced by Permanent Secretaries of Zanzibar Government Ministries entitled: Views on Proposals for Amending the Constitution.

The document is prefaced by a letter by the secretary of the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council, Jaffar Mfaume Ali, which makes it clear that the views expressed are personal views of the Permanent Secretaries.

Among other things they recommend the establishment of a United Security Council with an equal number of members from each constituent part. Such a council will have the sole power to declare war, provided such a decision is carried by a two-thirds majority. This recommendation will take away the war powers from the President of the United Republic.

They further recommend that there should be three Presidents: one for Zanzibar, one for Tanganyika and one for the United Republic. Also that the Union Presidency should be on rotation and last for not longer than two terms of five years

each.

These recommendations are far-reaching and there are those who argue that the Permanent Secretaries could not have presented them in so forthright a manner without the go-ahead by Shaykh Jumbe, President of Zanzibar and Vice-President of the United Republic. This raises the stakes enormously.

Nyerere, the surviving founding father of the Union, will almost certainly receive Zanzibar's rather vociferous representations with a spirit of *déjà vu*. He is familiar with the dilemmas of the Pan-Africanist caught in the cross-fire of contending nationalisms. When reflecting on the abuses of national pride in the 60s, he wrote that "national pride will deliberately be bolstered by those who are anxious to keep Africa weak by her division, or those anxious to keep Africa divided because they would rather be important people in a small state than less important people in a bigger one."

As a *realpolitiker*, however, he has some options. He might raise the Malawi connection and expose the roots of a whole generation of Zanzibari senior politicians, one of whom recently visited the grave of his sister at Nkhata Bay, on the shores of Lake Malawi. He could also encourage Pemba's burgeoning nationalism. If he succeeds in either course, he will have rephrased the old saying into: "When one pipes in Zanzibar, they do not dance in the lakes" ●

## DETAILS OF CAMPAIGN AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT NOTED

Nairobi WEEKLY REVIEW in English 28 Oct 83 p 15

[Text] HUNDREDS of people in the Tanzanian capital, who have been rounded up in a country-wide campaign against unemployment, are being repatriated to their home villages where they are to be provided with land to work on. More than 600 jobless have already been sent home and more were expected to leave the capital last weekend. Railway coaches and lorries have been mobilised for the exercise.

The crackdown on the unemployed was launched on Monday last week when over 6,000 people, including housewives, employed workers and private businessmen, were netted. Those arrested were bundled into vehicles and driven to special centres where panels of officials screened employment identity cards (IDs). Those who failed to prove their employment were detained pending their repatriation. The crackdown raised a spate of complaints accusing militiamen and police of harassment and maltreatment and of leaving the arrested without food during their detention.

The minister for labour and social welfare, Alfred Tandau, warned that anyone attempting to frustrate the operation would face legal measures because the campaign was conducted according to parliamentary legislation which requires all able-bodied persons to work. The minister said his officials have already finalised arrangements to provide all employed people with recognised IDs and asked employers to submit lists of their employees for new cards. According to a source, all petty businesses including shoe-shining, food vending and other "unimportant" social services have been outlawed in Dar es Salaam so that those engaged in the businesses are removed from the city. Reports reaching Dar es Salaam from the regions claimed that the anti-jobless campaign was still continuing and that more people were volunteering to register their names for farm allocations. According to figures available, four people from neighbouring Malawi, Burundi and Kenya were rounded up during the swoop and were now in the hands of immigration officials.

The crackdown on the jobless, which has been a sporadic operation in the past in Tanzania, has for the first time since independence received the backing of a parliamentary act calling for job conscription in rural areas. Tanzanian leaders are convinced that the implementation of the anti-jobless operation will enable the country to overcome its food shortages and foreign exchange

constraints when more people are conscripted into the agricultural sector.  
"Dar es Salaam alone consumes about half the total food supply purchased by the National Milling Corporation and it is only fair that the consumption is reduced by removing the non-productive and unemployed residents from the city so that they could be engaged in farm work," a senior government leader said.

CSO: 3400/203

## DETAILS OF NEW AGRICULTURAL POLICY PAPER GIVEN

London AFRICA NOW in English No 30, Oct 83 pp 69, 70

[Article by William Pike: "Big is Beautiful in Tanzania"]

[Text]

In Arusha earlier this year, President Julius Nyerere told a meeting on Tanzania's new agricultural policy: "We have to remove this preconception that we discourage large-scale farming."

This puzzled some observers since it implied a new acceptance of large private farmers. In 1972, he had told the remaining White farmers of Kilimanjaro: "The private capitalist farmer . . . has no place in socialist Tanzania . . . The only acceptable method of farming in the future will be either state farms or co-operative villages where effort and reward are equally shared."

*Africa Now* has now acquired a copy of the government's new Agricultural Policy Paper which explains that change of heart.

There is a new commitment to agriculture in Tanzania — its share of the development budget is to be raised from 13 to 24% — and the paper is a result of a fundamental re-examination of its agricultural policies by the government. It was produced by the presidential task force led by Professor Simon Mbilinyi, now principal secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture. Mbilinyi's team look a wide-ranging look at agriculture in the context of the government's own Structural Adjustment Programme and the need for reforms which would facilitate a structural adjustment loan from the World Bank, and balance of payments support from the IMF.

The main policy changes are the decisions to introduce a form of leasehold and to encourage private and public large farmers. But the paper emphasises that the government still wants "to develop an egalitarian agricultural community, based on the policies of socialism and self-reliance." Villages where there is collective farming are said to be "in the vanguard of socialist development" but it is recognised that others "cannot be forced along the same path."

There are not many private commercial farms in Tanzania but the paper argues: "The

existing ones do now play an important part in the production of some export crops. They will therefore be assisted to expand their contribution to Tanzania's foreign exchange earnings." Foreign and local individuals and companies will be encouraged to invest in private commercial farms "within the framework of national land policies." Private farms will not be allowed on village land but will be able to take up unused agricultural land as well as abandoned commercial farms in the Rift Valley.

Parastatal farms will have to break even and operate on a strictly commercial basis while state farms will concentrate on seed production. The paper also argues that: "Joint enterprises are of particular benefit to Tanzania" and is in favour of farms such as those run by the parastatal NAFCO and the Canadian Government to grow wheat.

The paper hopes that the new policy on private farms will attract substantial overseas investment as well as soaking up "private money in private hands" in Tanzania. The recent settlement with Lonrho may have been intended to smooth the British company's return into tea and food production although this may be hampered by President Nyerere's insistence that the company clarify its links with Jonas Savimbi of UNITA in Angola.

It is also doubtful if overseas farmers, private or corporate, will be willing to commit funds to Tanzania in the present harsh economic climate. Brooke Bond's 1982 annual report said its tea estates in Mufindi were less profitable than those in Kenya, Malawi and India.

Recently NAFCO farms in Hanang district, run in conjunction with the Canadians, had to mount an emergency operation to get a good wheat harvest into the Arusha godowns. It was lying in the open because there was no fuel for transport.

One man who used to farm near Arusha told *Africa Now*: "It will be very difficult to



get people to commit themselves if you are not able to get spare parts or diesel."

The government has anticipated these problems and has arranged for large farms (as well as manufacturers and other exporters) to receive a foreign exchange allocation based on their export earnings. Another incentive to commercial farmers is the Human Resources Deployment Act, introduced in June, which makes it a legal obligation for all able-bodied adults to be gainfully employed. Urban unemployed are already being returned to the villages and the paper promises help from the government, JUWATA (the trade union federation) and CCM (the single political party) in recruiting them for work on private and public commercial farms.

Land registration and a form of private land ownership will encourage investment by all farmers, large and small. The government is to produce a series of land use maps and will give every farmer a lease of some kind since it is "essential that all users feel confident that their investment of effort and money (in ridging and fertilizer for instance) will be beneficial to them and their families as well as to the nation as a whole."

Villages will be allocated land on a 999-year lease which they will then sublet to peasant farmers or use communally. "Institutions, enterprises or individuals" will be given leases of at least 33 years. The British Government unsuccessfully tried to introduce a system of leasehold tenure in the late 50s.

The paper recognises: "The dominant mode of agriculture in Tanzania is individual peasant production" and much of it is devoted to ways of improving yields and acreages. Villages will be encouraged to become more involved in planning by setting up information banks and preparing master plans. There will be an increased commitment to extension services with a target of one officer in every village. Extension workers will emphasise the need for increased acreages and improved husbandry through the use of animal-drawn implements, soil conservation and tree planting. It is also proposed to provide tractor hire to villages "on an economic basis".

Producer prices were to be improved to favour high foreign exchange earners. This took place in July when there was an immediate 40% rise even though President Nyerere predicted that crop authorities would lose \$49m as a result.

The other major reform referred to in the policy paper is the restoration of the co-operatives. This has been underway since 1980. The co-operatives will purchase for resale to the marketing boards and crop authorities. In a sense this simply represents a new layer of management but small farmers will gain more room for manoeuvre since the primary co-operative societies will be able to trade food among themselves or sell it directly to large consumers or processors such as the army or the textile mills.

## PROPOSED 1984 BUDGET EXAMINED

## Draft Submitted to Legislative Council

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 10 Oct 83 p 10

[Text] A total of 20.4 billion zaires in receipts, 23 billion in expenditures, or a deficit of 2.6 billion zaires to be financed by the domestic banking system. These are the figures from the draft budget for 1984, submitted on Saturday to the Legislative Council by Kengo wa Dondo, 1st state commissioner, on behalf of the president and founder of the MPR, Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, head of the Executive Branch.

In the speech delivered on the occasion before the people's commissioners, meeting in a plenary session at the Palace of the Nation and presided over by Kasongo Mukundji, first vice president of the Legislative Council bureau, Kengo wa Dondo said that current receipts represent 19,795,000,000 zaires, with the balance, 605 million zaires, corresponding to suspense receipts.

Regular receipts are up 89 percent on the whole compared with revised figures for 1983 and are divided into three major categories: Proceeds from contributions and taxes from direct and indirect taxation represent 16,708,610,340 zaires, or 85 percent of all current receipts. Revenue from investments and holdings amount to 2,154,220,240 zaires, or 11 percent, while proceeds from so-called administrative and judicial receipts and royalties and remunerative taxes total 932,169,450 zaires, or 4 percent.

Kengo explained that the improvement in current receipts largely results, as for the rest of 1983, from the higher contributive capacity of GECAMINES [General Quarries and Mines Company]: 4.6 billion zaires, or over 23 percent of all regular receipts or double the expected 1983 figures are anticipated from this national company.

While increased overall yield from the fiscal system is expected in 1984, the level of import duties will depend on the real volume of imports, also considering the reduction in duties for basic food products, raw materials and spare parts.

In addition, the scale of professional taxes on income will be worked out so as to prevent any maladjustment resulting from salary adjustments.

With respect to overall spending, regular expenditures total 21.6 billion zaires, including expenditures for order (605 million zaires), and capital expenditures represent 1.4 billion zaires.

Under regular expenses, up 70 percent over adjusted 1983 figures, the major categories are: the foreign debt, with 8.1 billion zaires, or 38 percent of the current total and an increase of 150 percent over 1983; remunerations, with 4,586,000,000 zaires, or 21 percent of the current total and an increase of 42 percent over the 1983 figure; and the domestic debt, with 1,703,208,716 zaires, or 7 percent of the regular budget and four times the 1983 figure.

The first state commissioner indicated that charges on the foreign public debt are completely in line with the coefficient of monetary adjustment. The index of rescheduling of the foreign debt is not yet taken into account, as the process of renegotiation with foreign partners begun within the framework of the Club of Paris is to continue with that of the Club of London.

The mass of remunerations is undergoing the impact of the wage adjustment policy resulting from the monetary correction. Actually, Kengo wa Dondo said, the increase expected in 1984 is a weighted average from a 20-percent increase during the first quarter and a 17-percent increase for the rest of the year, with the understanding that for the period covered by the program, or 15 months, the overall increase cannot exceed 40 percent.

The domestic public debt does not feel the impact of the monetary adjustment except in its constitutive part, back payments made up of foreign exchange in part and representing some 800 million zaires. With respect to capital expenditures, the first state commissioner pointed out that they are part of the interim plan of economic rehabilitation for 1983-1985. That interim plan is an element of the Mobutu Plan. It is aimed at laying down the conditions for startup of the First Five-Year Plan for 1986-1990.

With 1.4 billion zaires, or 6 percent of the overall budget, investment expenditures for 1984 are essentially made up of old projects whose continuation is unavoidable or desirable. Criteria for general evaluation of investment expenditures for 1984 include the availability of foreign financing, the level of execution of projects already undertaken and the priority of projects considered.

Old and new projects make up 90 and 10 percent of the investment budget respectively. The overall increase in this budget compared with 1983 is nearly 80 percent. Kengo emphasized that this major increase expressed the determination of the Executive Council to activate its investment policy in order to help and stimulate agricultural recovery and thereby the social well-being of working people.

In keeping with this aim, the sectorial distribution of the investment budget is as follows: transport, communications and telecommunications, 34 percent; energy, 21 percent; agriculture, 12 percent; education and health, 13 percent; and miscellaneous, 20 percent.

The proposed budget presented on Saturday is in line with the program of economic and financial rehabilitation defined by the Executive Council. Through this program, which will be based on the imminent conclusion of a technical and financial cooperation agreement with the International Monetary Fund, Zaire pledges more than ever to restore the basic conditions essential for the recovery and development of its economy, the first state commissioner emphasized. Overall financial assistance from the IMF is on the order of \$360 million, with \$240 million in stand-by credits and \$120 million for compensatory financing.

The heavy increase in 1984 budget allocations compared with revised credits for 1983 (11 billion in receipts; 13,463,000,000 in expenditures) proceeds, the first state commissioner explained, from the need for an intense effort to mobilize public resources, essential control over spending and the effect in 1984 of the modification in the parity of the zaire.

The proposed 1984 budget, one of the most essential elements of the program of economic and financial adjustment designed for 1983-1984, is matched by management criteria or norms which, in the field of public finance, are expressed not only in the leveling off of monetary financing and overall spending and strict maintenance of each category of spending within the limits of the ceiling set for it.

In his introduction, the first state commissioner reaffirmed the basic tenants of Zaire's budgetary philosophy, which is intended to be orthodox. He recalled that the long-term strategy of the monetary and budget policy of our country is aimed at simultaneous achievement of the basic objectives of economic growth and monetary stability.

The budget, which is the instrument by which the country's economic and social development is achieved, must express that strategy, Kengo said. In order for this to be so, inadequate provisions must disappear and there must be a halt to misappropriations and carelessness in budgetary management.

Financial orthodoxy, regular budgetary accounting and a better rendering of accounts therefore require that the problem of exceeding budgets be solved once and for all, the coordinator of the Executive Council stated, noting that the different instructions and directives which the Executive Council has received from the chief of state are all based on these motivations.

These directives will henceforth inspire and guide the action of the Executive Council, particularly with respect to execution of the 1983 Budget and the drafting of the 1984 Budget. The state commissioners and secretaries of state present in Kinshasa were present at the Palace of the Nation for the filing of the proposed budget for 1984.



## Support for Budget

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 11 Oct 83 pp 1, 7

[Article by Monsa Iyaka Duku]

[Text] National news is dominated by the proposed budget for 1984, presented to the Legislative Council on Saturday, 8 October 1983, by 1st State Commissioner Kengo wa Dondo. The budget totals 20.4 billion zaires in receipts and 23 billion zaires in expenditures. The budgetary deficit is therefore 2.6 billion zaires, to be financed by the domestic banking system.

As we predicted in one of our previous editions following the expanded meeting in N'Sele on the final drafting of the 1984 Budget, the latter is realistic. It is therefore matched by criteria of management reflected not only in the ceiling on monetary financing and overall spending, but also a strict maintenance of each category of spending within the limits of its own ceiling. Even better, the 1984 Budget fits into the framework of the program of economic recovery of the Executive Council because the budget is the prime instrument of the government's economic and financial management. It fits into the overall context of the 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan.

But what struck seasoned observers the most in this brilliant export by the coordinator of the Executive Council was the precision with which he developed the main lines of the Executive Council's program. In order to inform the people and help the Legislative Council in its task of debating the budget, thereby enhancing the work done, the first state commissioner spelled out the nature and origins of the receipts and expenditures (proceeds from contributions and taxes, revenue from investments and holdings, administrative income, remunerations, debts, and so on), ways and means to be used by the Executive Council to complete its program successfully. In particular, it is a question of a wage policy as the pillar of the action of any government, the existence of a defined economic system (economic but controlled liberalism). In short, the Executive Council fixed its choice with respect to the national strategy of development: national development through integrated rural development. The latter is aimed at food self-sufficiency, improved access roads, generalized basic health care. Nothing has been left to chance. The general impression is that the way has been barred to any improvisation, making the provisions of the budget a truly credible work.

It is true that at the present time, the ball is in the court of the people's commissioners, who will have to evaluate the work done by the Executive Council. There will be no dearth of remarks. Furthermore, in a kind of self-criticism, the first commissioner branded inadequate planning. But as he said, the Executive Council will remain attentive to the results of the investigations of the parliamentary committee on control and the concerns of the Legislative Council with respect to the mobilization of receipts and the means of financing the budget deficit. He went on to say that this work is a valuable contribution to the search for appropriate ways and means to intensify preventive action of the Executive Council regarding misuse of funds and carelessness in the management of public finances and assets, all within the framework of financial orthodoxy, without which there is no effective economic system.



TEXT OF FIRST STATE COMMISSIONER'S BUDGET SPEECH

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 12, 13-14 Oct 83

[12 Oct 83 pp 5, 7]

[Text] Last Saturday, at a meeting of the National Legislative Council, the First State Commissioner presented the projected budget for fiscal year 1984. On this occasion, Citizen Kengo Wa Dondo reviewed the overall development of the country's economy since 1982 and indicated the main lines of action, showing that Zaire is more determined than ever to restore the basic conditions that are essential for the recovery and development of its economy.

We are publishing below in full the speech of the First State Commissioner.

Citizen Chairman of the Legislative Council, Citizens Commissars of the People,

On 23 December 1982, I appeared before this august assembly to present the projected budget for the current year.

On this occasion, I indicated that during this fiscal year the budget would be the tool par excellence to manage the country's economy and the state finances. To achieve this, the Executive Council had promised to ensure the strict implementation of the budget voted by the Legislative Council, with discipline and in the respect of legal procedures.

Thus, in accordance with article 82 of the Constitution, and in the name of the Citizen Chairman-Founder of the Popular Movement of the Revolution, President of the Republic and Chief of the Executive, I have the honor of presenting to you at the opening of this session the projected budget for fiscal year 1984.

The Constitution and the Context of the Projected Budget

As you know, this projected budget should be viewed in the context of the economic and financial stabilization program defined by the Executive Council.

Through this program, which will be supported by the technical and financial cooperation agreement about to be signed with the International Monetary Fund,

our country is more than ever committed to restoring the basic conditions essential to the recovery and development of its economy.

As you know, the Executive Council has already adopted a first series of measures, the keystone of which is the monetary reform.

As you also know, a monetary reform can be meaningful only insofar as it takes place in a global context and is accompanied by adequate measures concerning the economy as a whole. It cannot remain without consequences on the economic system as a whole, and especially on the state budget.

Therefore, the budget policy which we intend to implement during the coming months will be the policy imposed by the constraints and success of the economic and financial recovery program.

In this perspective, before considering the global amounts included in the 1984 projected budget, I believe we should:

- briefly review the recent situation of the country's economy as well as world economic trends, on the one hand;
- and, on the other hand, refer again to the foundations of our country's economic and budget policy.

Evolution of the Gross Domestic Product and Resource Deficit

Citizen Chairman of the Legislative Council, Citizens Commissars of the People,

You are well aware that our country is not yet out of the crisis.

For 1982, the situation may be summarized as follows:

First, the gross domestic product diminished in real terms by close to one percent.

This decline was due essentially to unfavorable copper and cobalt prices which dropped respectively by more than 15 percent and 46 percent, and by the fact that cobalt exports were limited in volume.

Second, the current deficit of the foreign balance of payments is around 340 billion SDR [special drawing rights], despite the reduction in imports of goods and services, as export receipts did not improve appreciably.

If we consider the balance of payments as a whole, the deficit amounts to 600 million SDR, taking into account the contractual repayment and interest charges on our foreign debt, which is estimated to represent 39 percent of export forecasts for 1983 and 1984.

The total outstanding payment on our foreign debt represents 875 million SDR, i.e. the equivalent of close to 8 months of export receipts expected in 1983.

Third, the budget deficit amounts to 2.8 billion zaires, i.e. close to 9 percent of our gross domestic product, compared with 6 percent in 1981.

Monetary financing has reached 3.3 billion zaires, including the amounts paid against our public foreign debt.

Fourth, inflation remains high, increasing at an annual rate of 37 percent.

The net result is that, at the end of 1982, our country's economy was still characterized by large deficits of domestic as well as foreign resources.

During that same year, the economic situation worldwide was not very good: first, the gross domestic product of industrialized countries declined by one half of one percent.

Then, the trade volume was affected by the aggressiveness of the dollar and decreased by 2 percent, which represents a loss of 1.8 billion dollars.

Finally, the rate of growth of the gross industrial production was one percent lower in non-oil-producing developing countries, and the deficit of their foreign balance of payments amounted to 87 billion dollars compared with 107 billion at the end of 1981.

Although 1982 appears to have been the continuation of years of crisis, it still yielded some positive results at international level: the deceleration of the rate of inflation, the relative stabilization of interest rates, and the implementation of stricter budget policies.

So much so that 1983 seems to give indications of a recovery in countries which are commonly considered as the pacemakers of world economy, in particular the United States of America.

The recovery, which might result in rates of growth in the vicinity of 2 percent in 1983 and 3 percent in 1984 for these countries as a whole, will nevertheless have to coexist with strict monetary policies and a relatively high rate of unemployment.

Evolution of the World Economy in 1982

Citizen Chairman of the Legislative Council, Citizens Commissars of the People,

In approaching the problems of their economic recovery and development, young nations like ours cannot overlook the evolution of budget and monetary policies in industrialized countries.

In this context, I believe it is appropriate to reaffirm the foundations of Zaire's budget policy.

The evolution of budget practices which we have witnessed until now should not make us forget this philosophy, which is designed to be orthodox.

Indeed, it is important to state again that the long-range strategy of our country's monetary and budget policy is designed to achieve simultaneously fundamental objectives of economic growth and monetary stability.

The budget, being the implement through which we plan to achieve the economic and social development of the country, must reflect this strategy.

True, although the objectives of our economic policy may be compatible in the long range, they may hinder one another in the short term.

For instance, the control of the overall demand and the protection of our foreign assets may, for the time being, be achieved at the expense of our budget policy.

Yet, we cannot but recognize that there can be no effective economic system without an orthodox budget.

If this is to be so, then we must do away with inadequacies in forecasting and delinquency and indiscipline in budget management.

In the past 10 years, we have seen that the structural character of the deficits recorded had its origin in the expenditures rather than in receipts.

This obviously does not mean that we do not have to increase our efforts to mobilize resources. Quite to the contrary.

What I mean is simply that expenditures in excess of the amounts budgeted do not always generate external economies or redistributive and [word illegible] effects in the economy.

My conclusion is that the problem is mainly one of orthodoxy, of opportunity, in other words of rigor in evaluating and allocating expenditures.

In other words, we should not consider any expansion of public expenditures unless it is covered by the fiscal process, and we must of course make sure that the fiscal pressure does not exceed limits compatible with an increased efficiency of the economic system.

Indeed, no matter what financial strategy we implement to increase the flow of receipts, we have grounds to fear a decline of the system as long as the occasions for spending do not reflect decisions made in the budget or are absolutely unrelated to the country's economic activity.

Financial orthodoxy, consistent budget accounting and improved accountability require therefore that a final solution be found to the problem of budget deficits.

The various instructions and guidelines which the Executive Council received from the Chief of State all reflect the motivations I just mentioned.

These guidelines now inspire and direct the efforts of the Executive Council. Especially with respect to the implementation of the 1983 budget and the preparation of the 1984 budget.



This brings me to inform you of the efforts made during 1983, of the first indicators of the economic and financial situation for this year, and of the prospects which appear to exist for 1984.

#### Foundations of the Zairian Budget Policy

Citizen Chairman of the Legislative Council, Citizens Commissars of the People,

In December 1982, I informed you that the efforts of the Executive Council would be oriented in two directions:

- improving management on the one hand;
- reasserting the value of productive labor on the other hand.

These orientations were followed in 1983, in particular through the implementation of mechanisms and instruments that made it possible to control the implementation of the budget, while pursuing initiatives to encourage productive labor.

Indeed, 1983 is a year of budget austerity which saw:

- a struggle against waste in all fields of expenditures;
- a straightening up of budget control procedures;
- and the [words illegible] of the Treasury debt with the domestic banking system.

In this context, the expenditure voucher procedure was systematically applied, while the evolution of the cash flow and budget accounting was followed by a treasury plan established by the Department of Finance and by a schedule that was made compulsory for all public credit managers.

[Words illegible] receipts, in order to improve the overall yield of the tax system, a few tax adjustments were made, especially with respect to [words illegible] taxes and customs duties. [One sentence illegible]. These efforts resulted in an improved [word illegible] especially in the sector of [word illegible] taxes and receipts.

As for the budget policy thus developed, the effects it had on public finances may be considered positive. They warrant the unrelenting continuation of the efforts undertaken.

According to preliminary indicators of the overall situation of the public treasury in late August 1983, 4.679 billion zaires were collected, and actual expenditures amounted to 5.361 billion zaires.

Therefore, the net debt of the state with the domestic banking system amounted to only 682 million zaires, i.e. 43 percent of the maximum authorized for the first eight months of the year.



If we project these results onto the last four-month period, we can expect a satisfactory situation of public finances for 1983, irrespective of the impact of the measures taken last September in connection with the start of the new economic and financial stabilization program.

Review of the Executive Council's Commitments and of the Efforts Made in 1983

Citizen Chairman of the Legislative Council, Citizens Commissars of the People,

I would like to review briefly the efforts made to meet the second objective of the Executive Council in 1983, which was to reassert the value of productive labor.

In the agricultural sector, efforts were continued to achieve food self-sufficiency by 1984 for certain staples such as rice, corn, beans and manioc.

Large credits were made available, especially to improve service roads, in particular in the North.

As a result, food production grew steadily during 1983, thus reinforcing the trend observed in 1982, especially for corn, which is expected to show a 20 percent increase by the end of 1983.

Generally speaking, the creation of the Agricultural Credit Bank and the management commission of the Development Convention Funds will, I hope, contribute to a large extent to creating conditions that will lead to an improved profitability of the productive sector.

In the mining sector, the overhauling of the production plant is progressing. In this context, GECAMINES [General Quarries and Mines Company] will now operate under a special tax system differing from the general system only in the export duties schedule. The new system came into force in October, following adjustment measures adopted recently and which I shall discuss in a few moments.

In the transportation sector, the number of automobile vehicles increased, and the policy of breaking the isolation of the country was continued, especially through a consolidation of the national road system.

Elements of the New Economic and Financial Stabilization Program: Monetary Reform and Basic Economic Option

Citizen Chairman of the Legislative Council, Citizens Commissars of the People,

Despite the rather encouraging trend of its financial management system and some of its indicators in the past few months, the Zairian economy is still in a zone of turbulence. Basic imbalances are still prevailing; they are still causing resource deficits, an accelerated rise in prices and strong pressures on the balance of payments. Therefore, the Executive Council resolved to consolidate the process of recovery which just started by implementing an economic and financial stabilization program that should also be viewed in the context of the medium-term economic recovery.

Essentially, this program involves an adjustment of the zaire currency so as:

- to ensure the transfer of resources toward the export sector;
- to reduce public and private consumption to a more balanced level with respect to the offer for goods and services.

The program also recommends that public expenditures should not exceed an amount compatible with an adequate policy of global expansion of economic credits. It also suggests that the materials policy should be adjusted. Finally, it recommends an adjustment of the foreign debt.

#### Effects of the Reform on Sectors Other Than the State Budget

Citizen Chairman of the Executive Council, Citizens Commissars of the People,

As you can see, this is a consistent program whose strategy relies essentially on the currency and on the state credit, debt and budget.

With respect to the new monetary policy and its effects on the economic system as a whole, we should point out that it is essentially a continuation of the country's economic deregulation policy.

You will remember:

- the deregulation of agricultural and industrial prices;
- the deregulation of gold and diamond sales by small producers;
- the return into private hands of either the management or the stock of certain public enterprises.

On 24 September 1983, in his closing speech to the Seventh Ordinary Session of the MPR, the Citizen Chairman-Founder recalled the basic option on which the economic plan was based, namely free enterprise, and indicated that from now on all economic activity would follow this orientation. This option was also confirmed by the Third Ordinary Congress of the Party.

In a country like ours which, as I just mentioned, proclaims its faith in the principles and virtues of free enterprise, the deregulation policy must involve all essential elements of a market economy.

Therefore, the new monetary policy hinges around the following principles: first, the deregulation of exchange rates through the adoption of a flexible exchange system; second, the deregulation of interest rates on loans, except agricultural loans not involving coffee; third, increased rediscount and advance rates and increased interest rates on Treasury notes; fourth, the adoption of a ceiling for net financial claims on the economy, taking into account the overall expansion authorized for the year, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the tolerated level of state monetary financing; fifth, the limitation of the monetary mass growth during the period covered by the program, i.e. 1983-1984.

I would like to dwell on the principle of exchange rate deregulation to review:

- its nature,
- its mechanism,
- its underlying motivations.

As far as its nature is concerned, the new exchange system gives up the fixed parity of the zaire currency with respect to the SDR (special drawing rights) to which it had been linked since 1976. Since 12 September 1983, the zaire currency is temporarily floating in a dual exchange rate system corresponding to two distinct markets:

- the official market which is the responsibility of the Bank of Zaire and covers well-defined transactions of the public sector;
- the free market which is the exclusive responsibility of commercial banks and covers all operations not covered by the official market.

The Bank of Zaire has issued a series of circulars containing the details of the mechanism and operation of the new exchange system.

However, we should recall that the exchange rate deregulation is accompanied by a new policy concerning the allocation of exchange reserves:

First: the banks will now retain the 30 percent of foreign currency receipts which until now they were obliged to sell to the Bank of Zaire;

Second: import expenditures represent 75 percent of the foreign currency receipts of the banks;

Third: expenditures for invisibles will absorb 25 percent of these receipts.

In addition to the country's own exchange reserves, the International Monetary Fund will provide a global financial aid to the program of some 360 million dollars, as follows:

- 240 million as standby credits;
- 120 million as compensatory financing.

The 20 million dollars mentioned when the monetary decision was published were only in anticipation of the total amount of the standby credits.

Such, therefore, are the nature and mechanism of the new exchange system; I would now like to mention some of the effects of the monetary reform that this system implies.

These effects involve in particular:

- the current balance of foreign payments;
- the current state budget;
- domestic liquid assets;
- and prices and wages.

## Effects of the Reform and Presentation of the 1983-1984 State Budget

The monetary adjustment was obviously expected to have the overall effect of "restoring the macroeconomic balance," i.e. of creating a new economic and financial balance in the system as a whole.

As far as the current balance is concerned, it should be understood that, in the case of Zaire, the devaluation was not intended to give exports a competitive edge as far as exchange rates were concerned, i.e. to make exports more competitive on foreign markets.

Indeed, we must face facts: the prices of our exports are exogenous variables, as they are fixed, even imposed by international markets. Therefore, the monetary operation will not improve directly our foreign payment situation, at least in the short term.

Actually, the objective of this operation is to improve the zaire cash flow of certain economic agents, namely exporters and the state who thus see an appreciation of the zaire value of their foreign currency revenues.

Yet, even in this case, the net result of the operation assumes that the expenditures or expenses of the economic agents who benefit from it will not be adjusted in the same proportion, and this often implies a policy of price and wage controls.

In the medium or long term, the objective of the operation is to improve our export capacity by providing additional cash flow to exporters and to establish a more consistent monetary relation that would encourage investments.

Finally, lacking a correlative increase in short-term foreign currency receipts, a monetary correction must be accompanied by measures aimed at achieving better control over receipts and strict limitation of foreign currency expenditures, especially on the part of the state.

A moment ago, I mentioned the policy of price and wage controls.

It should be understood that price deregulation does not mean anarchy.

As the Citizen Chairman-Founder of the MPR, President of the Republic, recalled on 16 September, the prices of deregulated products are still subject to an ex-post control, although they no longer have to be approved.

In addition, in its economic statement of 24 September 1983, the seventh session of the MPR Central Committee reaffirmed that the deregulation of industrial and agricultural prices was not intended to result in wild liberalism and that regulations concerning prices must be strictly applied.

Apart from that, we can accept that the automatic increase in cost prices resulting from the devaluation will lead to an adaptation of the selling price in the part of the productive sector which is oriented to the domestic market.

At any rate, the Executive Council will make sure that this increase "of foreign monetary origin" will not excessively affect the present rate of inflation which is already high and must be brought under control and stabilized.



The Executive Council is aware of the dangers of a price/wage wage/price escalation which would soon make ineffective the attempted restoration of the macroeconomic balance, and it adopted adequate auxiliary measures.

They involve a 40 percent increase in the overall amount of wages paid by the state and, in this context, a revision of the minimum guaranteed wages in the industrial and agricultural sectors.

This increase will take place in successive stages during the period 1983-1984 and will be modulated in favor of those whose salaries are in the lower income brackets.

At enterprise level, the Executive Council will ensure that the wage increase process is kept in line with the adjustment policy for wages in the public sector.

Citizen Chairman of the Legislative Council, Citizens Commissars of the People,

I shall now consider the effects of the monetary manipulation on the current state budget.

The budget is a tool for managing not only the state but overall demand as well.

As such, it constitutes, as you know, a major part of the economic and financial stabilization program.

When it occurs as it just did, a devaluation can only have beneficial effects on public finances.

The impact of the devaluation on the last quarter of 1983 thus amounts to an amendment of the initial budget whose current receipts increased from 7 to 11 billion zaires, including receipts for order.

The budget amendment reflects the increased tax-paying ability of the export sector, and in particular the restoration of GECAMINES' tax-paying ability, which had been practically nil for several years.

As far as expenditures are concerned, the 1983 budget adjustment essentially reflects the adjustment of the wage sector whose mass was increased by 20 percent on 1 October 1983, the policy of renegotiation of the public debt and the assessment of other foreign currency expenditures of the state.

Thus, the ceiling of the total expenditures is set at 13.463 billion zaires for 1983, including expenditures for order.

The difference between adjusted receipts and expenditures for 1983, i.e. 2.4 billion zaires, will be financed through the domestic banking system, within the limits set in the stabilization program.

The adjustment of the 1983 budget was made official through Order No 83-169 of 12 September 1983. In accordance with current financial legislation. This order is submitted to your assembly for ratification.



Citizen Chairman of the Legislative Council, Citizens Commissars of the People,

The modification of the zaire currency parity will extend its impact on 1984 budget projections, and it is therefore the dominant parameter of these projections.

[13-14 Oct 83 p 13]

[Text] We continue the publication of the important speech delivered by the First State Commissioner, Citizen Kengo Wa Dondo, last Saturday, as he presented the projected 1984 budget to the Legislative Council.

This parity modification in combination with, among other things, well-defined budget options and an attempt at improving the yield of our mobilized resources will result in a projected 1984 budget including:

- 20.4 billion zaires in receipts; and
- 23 billion zaires in expenditures.

As a result, the budget deficit will amount to 2.6 billion zaires. To finance it, we shall have recourse to the domestic banking system.

As far as the ways and means budget is concerned, current receipts represent 19.795 billion zaires, the balance of 605 million zaires corresponding to receipts for order.

Current receipts as a whole are 89 percent higher than the adjusted forecasts for 1983; they include three large categories:

- first, the amounts paid as direct and indirect taxes; they represent a total of 16,708,610,340 zaires, i.e. 85 percent of all current receipts;
- second, revenues from public holdings and public property; they amount to 2,154,220,240 zaires, i.e. 11 percent;
- third, the products of so-called administrative and legal receipts as well as dues and fees, amounting to 932,169,450 zaires, i.e. 4 percent.

As during the remainder of 1983, the improvement in current receipts results justifiably and to a large extent from the reinforcement of GECAMINES' tax-paying ability: 4.6 billion zaires, i.e. over 23 percent of current receipts or double the 1983 forecasts, are indeed expected to be paid by this state-owned company.

Although the overall yield of the tax system is expected to improve in 1984, the amount perceived as import duties will depend on the actual volume of imports, and will also reflect the reduction in import duties on staple food products, raw materials and spare parts.

In addition, the professional income tax schedule will be adjusted to make sure it adequately reflects any wage adjustments.

Concerning global expenditures, i.e. 23 billion zaires:

- current expenditures amount to 21.6 billion zaires, including expenditures for order (605 million zaires);
- and capital expenditures represent 1.4 billion zaires.

The main categories of current expenditures--which are 70 percent higher than adjusted 1983 forecasts--are as follows:

- foreign debt: 8.1 billion zaires, i.e. 38 percent of the current total and a 150 percent increase over 1983;
- remunerations: 4.586 billion zaires, i.e. 21 percent of the current total and a 42 percent increase over 1983;
- domestic debt: 1,703,208,716 zaires, i.e. 7 percent of the current budget and 4 times as much as in 1983.

Public foreign debt expenditures are also fully aligned on the monetary adjustment factor. The incidence of the adjustment of the foreign debt is not yet taken into account, as the renegotiation of the debt with our foreign partners, which started at the Paris Club, will now continue at the London Club.

The remuneration mass reflects the impact of the wage adjustment policy that followed the monetary correction.

Actually, the rise forecast for 1984 is a weighted average of a 20 percent rise during the first quarter and a 17 percent increase for the rest of the year, with the condition that the total increase for the 15-month period covered by the program shall not exceed 40 percent.

The domestic public debt is not affected by the monetary adjustment, except to the extent that it includes outstanding payments based on foreign currencies, which represent some 800 million zaires.

As far as capital expenditures are concerned, we should first note that they are part of the 1983-1985 interim economic rehabilitation plan. This interim plan is a component of the Mobutu Plan and its objective is to pave the way for the start of the first 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan of the Second Republic.

With 1.4 billion zaires, i.e. 6 percent of the total budget, investment expenditures for 1984 turn out to be essentially older projects whose completion is either inevitable or desirable.

The availability of foreign financing, the degree of completion of projects in progress, and the preferred nature of the projects considered, such are the criteria used in the general assessment of investment expenditures for 1984.

Thus, older projects and new projects represent respectively about 90 and 10 percent of the investment budget.

The overall increase of this budget compared with 1983 is about 80 percent.

This considerable increase reflects the Executive Council's determination to accelerate its investment policy in order to encourage and stimulate agricultural recovery, i.e. the social well-being of the working classes.

In this perspective, the sectorial breakdown of the investment budget is as follows:

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| - Transportation, communications and telecommunications | 34 percent |
| - Energy  | 21 percent |
| - Agriculture   | 12 percent |
| - Health and education                                  | 13 percent |
| - Miscellaneous   | 20 percent |

Citizen Chairman of the Legislative Council, Citizens Commissars of the People,

This is what the 1984 projected budget looks like as a whole.

You may have noticed that the forecasts it includes represent roughly twice the amount of the adjusted allocations for 1983.

As I already mentioned, this very strong increase results from the need for an intense mobilization of public resources, from the necessity to control expenditures, and from the incidence that the adjustment of the zaire currency parity will have in 1984.

I need not remind you that the projected 1984 budget is one of the most essential components in the 1983-1984 economic and financial stabilization program.

This program includes management criteria or standards which, in the field of public finances, will not only impose a ceiling on monetary financing and overall expenditures, but also require that each category of expenditures be strictly contained within the limits of its own subceiling.

Such management constraints must of course encourage us to better assess the need for expenditures.

Compliance with all management standards is a prerequisite for the social well-being of all militants in the large MPR family, for a financial contribution to be made by the International Monetary Fund, and for the conclusion of a number of financial agreements with our traditional foreign partners, both in renegotiating our debt and with respect to other bilateral and multilateral financial agreements.

The 15 months of the program will therefore be a period of sacrifices and austerity.

As the Chairman-Founder so rightly emphasized in his message to the nation on the occasion of the closing of the last session of the Party Central Committee, I quote:

"It is a bitter pill, but we have no choice but to swallow it," end of quote.

Citizen Chairman of the Legislative Council, Citizens Commissars of the People,

It thus appears that the only program the Executive Council has to submit to your ratification is the program expressed through the 1984 projected budget, i.e. a program of constraints, of necessary constraints.

During 1983, I was called on to lead a large delegation of the country's Executive Council. On this occasion, I was able to identify the many problems that exist in the fields of administration, management of public property, economy and social services.

Within the limits of the stabilization program constraints, the 1984 projected budget is aimed at meeting these problems; in particular, it will continue to focus on integrated rural development efforts, on all efforts aimed at achieving food self-sufficiency, on service roads, on transportation in general, on primary health care, on the rehabilitation of hospitals, on the water and electric power supply program, and on school equipment and maintenance.

In other words, we must follow a policy in agreement with the MPR basic choices, a policy that will place economy in the service of man and will focus all of the nation's socioeconomic development efforts on the Zairian citizen.

In this context, I wish to emphasize that the basic objective of the stabilization program is to pave the way to true recovery and that, therefore, it would be to say the least rash and unrealistic to expect the whole production plant to recover within the 15 months of the program.

As I mentioned a moment ago, 1984 capital expenditures are the reflection of the 1983-1985 interim economic rehabilitation plan designed to pave the way for the first 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan.

Therefore, our present efforts must be placed in the context of an austerity budget and a process that requires sustained effort and long-term views.

In this respect, the Executive Council will remain attentive in particular to the results of the Parliamentary Control Commission's investigations and to the concerns of your august assembly with respect to receipts mobilization and the financing of the budget deficit.

The attention given by the Executive Council to parliamentary investigations is all the more justified as, in the Council's opinion, these investigations are the natural extension of a rational financial stabilization effort. In addition, they represent a valuable contribution in the search for appropriate ways and means to intensify the Executive Council's efforts to prevent delinquency and indiscipline in the management of public finances and public property.

The most ardent wish of the Executive Council, therefore, is to receive systematically all the reports of the Parliamentary Control Commission in order to draw from them the necessary conclusions.

I wish to add that, in order to improve rigor in management, any abuse of authority will be punished according to the law.

In closing, I would like to assure the legislative council that, as in the case of the current fiscal year, the Executive Council will make sure that the economic and financial stabilization program is applied strictly, especially through the rigorous implementation of the 1984 budget.

In this perspective, the Executive Council hopes to have the Legislative Council's support, considering that what is at stake is no less than the restoration of our country's credibility.

I thank you.

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INTERVIEW WITH SNCZ BELGIAN DIRECTOR, ZAIRIAN DEPUTY

Brussels L'EVENEMENT in French No 138 Oct 83 pp 38-40

[Christian Taverniers interviews SNCZ' Belgian Director Gunst and his Zairian assistant, Kasongo]

[Text] In this huge skittle game which is Zaire, two national companies employ over 20,000 workers. They are the GECAMINES [General Quarries and Mines Company], which mines the Shaba ores, and the SNCZ [Zairian National Railroad Company]. These two companies are obviously the focus of many greedy glances.

We will discuss the GECAMINES next month. This month, we are analyzing the game being played by Canada with the assistance of the World Bank, with a view to gaining control of the SNCZ. In this connection, our special correspondent interviewed the Belgian president and general director of that company, Mr Gunst, and his Zairian assistant, Mr Kasongo.

[Question] Mr Gunst, you are the president and a director of the SNCZ, what else are you, what training have you had and how did you come to this position here in Lubumbashi?

[Answer] I have been a railroad man since 1947. It is a vocation. It has its disadvantages, but it mostly has many advantages, because I have an exciting job. I am a civil engineer by training, my specialty being hydraulics.

[Question] What personal experience have you had?

[Answer] I worked with the SNCB [Belgian National Railroad]. Since I know many languages, I worked mainly in the international services: I went on assignment to Israel, Lebanon, Iran where I remained for a long time, Morocco and Tunisia.

[Question] How did you come to Zaire? How were you appointed?

[Answer] I was interviewed by the General Corporation for Development Agency for a position here. That was in January 1980. I accepted because it suited my wife.

[Question] You knew nothing about Zaire?

[Answer] I knew absolutely nothing about it. I had never been here.

[Question] What situation did you find on taking up your post?

[Answer] I arrived in Lubumbashi on 27 August 1980. At the time, the network was in a truly tragic situation. The knowledgeable people did not have the right to speak in high places and those who were in high places knew nothing about railroads. Railroads are essentially the business of technicians.

[Question] Tell me a little bit about the SNCZ.

[Answer] There are 2,000 kilometers of tracks, 22,000 Zairian employees and 127 foreign ones.

[Question] What was the company worth at the time?

[Answer] We showed a deficit. It varied from one year to the next, but averaged an annual loss of 20 million zaires.

[Question] You have been at your post for 3 years. What is its worth today?

[Answer] We achieved a positive balance for the first time in 10 years. There is a relatively small increase in the percentage of tonnage carried, i.e., 10 to 12 percent, but we have reorganized management and improved the efficiency of the worker in each position.

[Question] In what shape is the equipment?

[Answer] To give you an example, when I got here, we had General Electric locomotive. Of 44, 18 were operational. Today we have 36 --a substantial increase. We have practically doubled the number of locomotives in operational condition. The results are not so good for our German locomotives: we have equipment which is almost new but does not work. We will soon succeed in making them run, however. We have in fact managed to obtain aid from Germany which will enable us to purchase spare parts. You know, when a locomotive does not work, it is sometimes simply a matter of an injection pump.

[Question] You find yourself in a company which operates solely within Zaire. Does this mean that you do not earn any foreign currency?

[Answer] That is the most crucial problem for my company and the reason for my disagreements with the president and general director of GECAMINES. It has basically to do with the way in which transportation is paid for. In my opinion, the GECAMINES should pay us a higher rates for shipments on the national railroad. Furthermore, this should be paid to us in foreign exchange. This was partially achieved through the intervention of the state commissioner for finance and budget, on the orders of the Executive Committee, and against Mr Crem's advice. I must confess that it is a very good solution. If we can increase this amount further, we can operate comfortably and I will be able to renovate my network without foreign aid by 1985. We have enough foreign exchange in the country to do so, but not, obviously, if I must purchase new railroad cars, which I hope to do. I recently purchased 175 on the basis of Belgian aid. I will purchase more to improve the quotas, for we must remember that I have 193 railroad cars more than 50 years old.

[Question] The World Bank is challenging you despite your positive balance sheet, is it not? Why is the World Bank asking for your resignation from the SNCZ?

[Answer] I have criticized the World Bank for many things since I saw many shortcomings in the SNCZ rehabilitation program which it introduced and approved.

[Question] Some experts charge that the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank do not always work in the interests of the countries in which they invest. Do you agree with them?

[Answer] Yes. I agree totally, because when the situation is studied closely, we see that in the final analysis the World Bank is only seeking one thing: To give funds to countries in order to make them dependent on it. In some cases it is even opposed to a country's obtaining funds from another organization. I must confess that some such organizations are much more logical than the World Bank. Let us take for example the French Central Fund. I am not French, I am a Belgian. There are people there, however, who clearly state: "We are granting a loan of 100 million to the GECAMINES, but we must absolutely give 50 million French francs to the SNCZ so that it can make what we give the GECAMINES profitable. Which is perfectly logical. For example, the World Bank had planned a loan to the GECAMINES. If it had been granted, I would have needed 280 hopper cars. Who would have financed them? As a matter of fact, I have just filed a report stating that, in the present situation, I did not need direct aid from the World Bank. I can also tell you that there is a solution to this problem, which is purely national.

[Question] What about your relationship with the Zairian authorities? Are you working with people who understand this problem?

[Answer] As a rule, I have found people who do understand the situation well, but who have their own problems, which sometimes are beyond them to resolve. These problems are solely due to excessive indebtedness which we ourselves have caused: Europeans, Americans, etc.

[Question] And consequently the World Bank and IMF experts?

[Answer] I am not speaking about the IMF, for I do not know about it, but it is certainly true for the World Bank. It promotes need-less excessive indebtedness.

Here is an example: The World Bank had approved the financing of 12 passenger cars here, through a 2 million dollar loan which served no purpose whatsoever. I was able to stop it, but at the last moment.

[Question] According to my information, the Canadians at the World Bank have an overall policy designed to garner the important positions in Zaire. Is this Canadian policy a reality or not?

[Answer] Yes. They are trying to establish themselves in Zaire as consulting engineers and purchasing advisers for all manners of goods. To be sure, they are strongly supported by the Canadian government and economy since this way, Canada gets the orders. They tried to take away my position as an SNCZ official in a very simple way, by stating in a three-page report that I was incompetent, and also by pressuring the Zairian government, through their friends in the World Bank, on the pretext that my resignation would facilitate the granting of loans to the SNCZ.

[Question] Mr Kasongo, several companies were merged to form the SNCZ. It has become a large state company. Why?

[Answer] When the chief of state created the SNCZ, he wanted to give it a dual purpose: the country's development and national recovery. For copper is not the only resource: there are the agricultural products, the linking of the country's northern and southern parts and tourists. The railroad running from Haut Zaire to the other end of the country serves as a sort of focal point for national feelings. It therefore plays an economic role, but also a psychological one enabling Zairians to feel that they belong to a single great country.

[Question] The SNCZ receives no subsidies from the state. Can foreign exchange be obtained therefore only from foreign loans, namely, from other nations, or from loans from the World Bank or other financial institutions?

[Answer] We must first look into our own resources for acquiring foreign exchange. The Bank of Zaire does not have enough, but



since we ship copper for the GECAMINES, which generates some, there should be an equitable division of this foreign exchange. We are not asking much: 75 million Belgian francs per month. This is nothing for the GECAMINES as a whole: it gets one and a half billion Belgian francs per month.

[Question] If the GECAMINES were to give you 75 million Belgian francs a month, could you maintain all your equipment?

[Answer] We could operate on that sum without needing foreign aid, but we need it for purchases and investments. That is why we make a distinction. There is currently a tendency, even for the purchase of spare parts, to have recourse to foreign aid, and it is this which increases the indebtedness.

[Question] Why is the GECAMINES and its president and director, Mr Crem, opposed to the SNCZ receiving aid, while it would be to their advantage to have the network operating smoothly?

[Answer] That is the serious question we are asking. It is abnormal for the GECAMINES to deny us this aid, since it is in its interest as well as that of Zaire. Each load of copper shipped earns foreign exchange for the GECAMINES.

[Question] I have heard it said that the GECAMINES would prefer to promote the southern route rather than its own. Is that true?

[Answer] The GECAMINES has recently had difficulty with the national railroad line between Ilebo and Kinshasa. It had asked us to send large shipments of copper southward. We could not agree, because shipping to the South offers no advantage to the country--either to the GECAMINES or the SNCZ--since the largest share of the foreign exchange would then be paid to Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. I must confess that the GECAMINES is currently ill-disposed toward us.

[Question] Apart from your problems with Mr Crem and the GECAMINES, what is the current state of the SNCZ?

[Answer] Good. For the first time since the creation of the SNCZ, it has a positive balance sheet. Not only are we in balance, but there is also a surplus. The financial report is there, anyone can consult it. All the witnesses and observers have recognized the fact that the management is better than it ever was. We can now transport everything which is offered to us. Let us take for example Haut Zaire. We no longer had operational locomotives. With the help of our engineers we succeeded in repairing these locomotives, and all of them are now running. The coffee and cotton no longer are lying about and all the goods are being shipped.



[Question] Why then is the World Bank demanding Gunst's resignation? Is that a Canadian move?

[Answer] Yes, I am convinced of it. There is certainly Canadian and even Belgian interference, because the Canadians are not the only ones who want Mr Gunst's resignation. The Belgians do too, and, unfortunately, without a doubt against the interests of Belgium itself.

#### The Canadian Game at the SNCZ

Canadian employees of the World Bank drafted a report on the operation of the SNCZ on 10 January 1983.

This report was so blatantly inaccurate that a confidential counter-report was drafted by a Zairian inspector and forwarded to the various ministers involved in Kinshasa. This report stated among other things:

"The disparagement of the current administrative team of the SNCZ, designed to replace its members with Canadians looking for a place in the sun..."

"Under the current circumstances, we do not believe the Canadians could do any better. Furthermore, they are asking for a monthly allocation of one million US dollars per month from the Bank of Zaire. If the Canadians were more competent, they would have analyzed the weaknesses noted in the current administrative team's management and would have proposed corrections to increase the company's productivity with the existing resources."

"We believe that the consultants, in clumsily exceeding the limits of their mission, had only one goal: replacement of the present SNCZ officials."

"The CANAC group, which drafted this report under pressure from the World Bank, managed the Zambia Railways for many years. The information we have received from the Zambian national officials with whom we have regular contact leads us to conclude that this operation was a total fiasco."

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**EFFORTS MADE TO ACHIEVE SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN SUGAR PRODUCTION**

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 7 Oct 83 pp 1, 7

[Article by Monsa Iyaka Duku]

[Text] In 1984, the Kwilu-Ngongo Sugar Company will increase its annual production to 65,000 tons, compared with 40,000 tons in 1983, thanks to a loan from the World Bank. The Bank has granted financial assistance amounting to about 1 billion zaires in order to conform to the program of the Executive Council and the goal of food self-sufficiency. That is the most important element to come out of the meeting which 1st State Commissioner Kengo granted yesterday morning to the World Bank-Kwilu-Ngongo Sugar Company joint delegation.

Headed at the Council Hall by Shabani Nyembo, state commissioner for the national economy, industry and foreign trade, the delegation was made up of Messrs Los, principal agronomist for World Bank projects, Simon, managing director of the Kwilu-Ngongo Sugar Company, and Tabu Eboma, general director of the company.

Discussed at the meeting were the latest monetary and financial measures of 9 September and the impact they might have on the company in particular and on industrial units in general. The two sides exchanged views in order to find solutions that might respond positively to their concerns.

For the officials of the Kwilu-Ngongo Sugar Company, it is a matter of providing measures to go along with the monetary readjustment measures so as to respect the objectives of the Executive Council, which might be hindered over the next 4 months. In order to reach a compromise between the two sides, talks will be held in the departments of economy and finance.

It should be pointed out that with this effort of Kwilu-Ngongo to become self-sufficient in sugar, it would be fortunate to have the startup of the Lotokila sugar complex in Upper Zaire. Thanks to Chinese-Zairian cooperation, Lotokila, which occupies 3,000 hectares, will produce 15,000 tons of sugar a year, barring unforeseen factors. It should therefore be possible to meet national needs in this domain.

## YOUTH'S ROLE IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OUTLINED

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 16 Oct 83 pp 1, 10

[Text] The youth have a primary role to play in our country: not only do they compose the large majority of the population and represent the most important productive force, but also because they are the social element that represents the future and best expresses all the nation's aspirations. Recall that the father of the nation has constantly taught that "the youth are the Zaire of tomorrow; Zaire will be tomorrow what we have made of our youth today." On second thought, we should note that that is not just a simple statement, but rather the manifestation of an intensively lived life. It is obvious that by this watchword, the entire Zairian nation, through the mouth of its guide, has issued an unprecedented challenge to the youth. For though it is true that Zaire will be tomorrow what has been made of its youth today, it is even more true that it is not so much what has been made of its youth but particularly what the youth do with what has been done for them.

It is in this sense that we feel it is high time that the youth of the party become aware of the real scope of their primary vocation within the national community. It goes without saying that they now have two major trump cards to enable them to fully play their role of "spearhead" and to genuinely respond to all the nation's expectations.

In fact, the youth must first of all try to attune themselves in the school of the Mobutu revolution and benefit positively from the experience of its founders in order to grasp the guiding thread that will enable them to master their existential situation and genuinely control all the irrationality that the future will bring. It can never be overemphasized that our youth must be youth who are faithful to the noble ideals of the party and are unequivocally committed to the national conscience, that is, to all the shared values that create our feeling of identity. Further, the youth must somehow avoid falling victim to certain lapses of memory in which our country foundered prior to its political independence. This view is not at all a gratuitous or arbitrary affirmation; it is not the product of a purely empirical, positivist analysis, but, far more, it is an analysis that views our socio-historical being as an existential totality.

To return to the issue that most highly stimulates our intellectual curiosity, that is, the role of the party's youth in the national recovery effort, it seems to us that the youth must be inspired by these two fundamental truths that should always and everywhere be kept in mind in respect to development, viewed comprehensively.

First of all, it should be remembered that there is no shortcut to prosperity, no magic that can substitute for man's action. To say that a country's future is not written by any closed material system or under any intelligible heaven is not to say everything or enough. On the contrary, it involves demands and risks of a liberty that must be progressively won against nature through work, and against what is very often called the "second nature" caused by social determinism, by the critical and self-critical philosophy that does not stop short of achievement of awareness in order to transform the world. This is to say that there are no riches that man [as published] and he must raise himself through the obstacles that make his triumph in nature and history constantly precarious. In other words, we can say that man is both free and slave, struggling constantly to reduce the realm of his servility and to expand that of the liberty necessary for his flourishing and that brings him closer to the sovereign realm of the creator.

The value, in this connection, is human, it is work, man's effort to change his destiny. It is also the reason why the party has always strived to promote in the consciousness of every man and woman MPR member the concept of a society in which work has primacy over wealth.

It has also constantly taught that our society is not a kind of stopgap imposed by external necessities and contrary to the true nature of the Zairian man, and from which everyone should profit without concern for others. It is not the sum of the individuals, but constitutes an organic whole, whose citizens, assembled within the MPR, are an integral part as human individuals. It is in this sense a system of relationships in which each Zairian, by his very character, is a point of intersection. Thus, true liberty for our youth lies certainly not in escape from the nation, but in fully integrating themselves into it. Moreover, it is certainly not indulging in science fiction to envisage the possibility that the party's youth may be able to overcome all the obstacles that seem to block our paths; it is simply believing that the Zairian man, in his inexorable struggle toward greater humanity, must seek by all means to overcome the successive obstacles that the contradictions of the modern world place in his path. To this end, it is necessary to replace a vague hope with firm confidence.

Furthermore, we should take seriously the assertion by the guide of the revolution that genuine development of our country cannot be possible without creation of a new way of thinking, without a radical change in attitude, in two words-- spiritual revolution. It is recalled that the former UN secretary general, Kurt Waldheim, in a speech on 14 September 1975 to the conference of the "77" in Mexico, urged the Third World countries not to depend only on money for their development but to rely more on human resources.

This is to say that it is more and more clear in our times that degeneration of the moral qualities of our human resources is more serious and harmful for the future than degeneration of our material resources. It is the youth who in the long term will be the force capable of effectively spurring a spiritual revolution in our country, for they still have that special opportunity to fulfill themselves in an internal drive that commits the whole "self."



Thus, one can hope in time to counter not only the economic regression but also the siege of corruption against our country, the triumph of the spirit of greed and egotistic pleasure; in sum, the degradation of morals.

The conclusion is that all these actions make imported services, capital, and other material goods insignificant. Henceforth, the party youth must begin practicing a genuine asceticism, remembering always that nothing substantial can be done without sacrifices and suffering; they must be able to give up individual advantages for the national good through a consistent effort of work and both material and human investment, have as their only principle love of duty and its responsibilities and desire for the public good, and devote their efforts to concrete and profitable projects, providing ever-greater opportunities to improve the conditions of life. It is a fact that every party member who performs his task with the maximum of awareness and love of country, trying to give all his actions their due value and significance, makes a genuine human investment that is vital to the nation.

To this end, the leadership of the party youth has always tried to insure that our youth are trained but without severing their roots, giving them a sense of personal initiative and responsibility, while at the same time strengthening in them the spirit of solidarity and creativity.

In conclusion, in our view the party youth can, or should, help in the creation of a responsible society and one imbued with responsibility. We are convinced that Zaire, under the leadership of the guide, Mobutu Sese Seko, has all the human and material resources needed to emerge from its current crisis, as long as we involve ourselves for progress. To this end, we should develop young people confident in themselves, capable of initiative and creativity, and ardent for independence and liberty. And these virtues must be part of our cultural heritage. In this way the youth will be in a position to live their lives, rather than continuing to receive the blows of life; to tune their most inward being to the rhythm of the historical evolution, instead of being its victims.

We believe that the destinies of peoples certainly trace out several paths to their fulfillment. The destiny of Zaire, our fine and great country, perhaps travels by a difficult road, but one that will inevitably lead us, thanks to the wisdom and insight of the guide of our genuine revolution, to a happy success. The revolution in Zaire is not easy, it is demanding.

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## ZAIRE

### BRIEFS

**YOUTH DELEGATION TO ROMANIA**--Next year, a delegation from the Youth of the Popular Movement of the Revolution (JMPR) will visit the Republic of Romania, returning the visit made to Zaire in November of last year by a Romanian youth delegation. The announcement was made on Tuesday by Mircea Andrei, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania to Zaire, who was received by Nzanda-uana Kalemba, member of the Central Committee of the MPR and secretary general of the JMPR. During the meeting, the ambassador from the Socialist Republic of Romania joined with the secretary general of the JMPR in examining the state of relations existing between Romanian and Zairian youth groups. These relations were deemed good by both sides, in the light of the excellent relations between the Romanian Communist Party and the Popular Movement of the Revolution. Plans for 1985, decreed by the United Nations as the Year of Youth, were also discussed. The Romanian chief of state is head of the planning committee. Ambassador Andrei, who expressed to the secretary general of the JMPR the best wishes of Romanian youth officials, also joined with Nzanda-Buana in discussing the structures, organization and operation of youth groups in the respective countries. They hoped for stronger cooperation linking the JMPR to the socialist Romanian youth through exchanges of study groups and experience. [By N'Zinga Nsingi] [Text] [Kinshasa ELIMA in French 7 Oct 83 p 2] 11,464

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